STUDIES IN INDIAN ANTIQUITIES

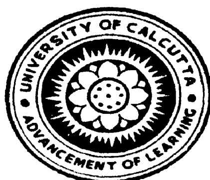
BY

HEMCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI, M.A., PH.D., F.R.A.S.B.

FORMERLY CARMICHAEL PROFESSOR AND HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENTS OF HISTORY AND ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY; PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, PRESIDENCY COLLEGE, CALCUTTA; READER AND ACTING HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, DACCA UNIVERSITY; JOINT AUTHOR OF 'THE ADVANCED HISTORY OF INDIA,' AUTHOR OF THE 'POLITICAL HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA', 'THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE VAISHNAVA SECT', ETC.

SECOND EDITION

(*Revised and enlarged*)



UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

1958

PRINTED IN INDIA
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY SIBENDRANATH KANJILAL,
SUPERINTENDENT, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS,
48, HAZRA ROAD, BALLYGUNGE, CALCUTTA.

1867B—July, 1958—A

भुवनेशीं नमस्कृत्य वाग्देवीं वर्णमातृकाम् ।
मातरं पितरञ्चैव कीर्त्तयिष्यामि भारतम् ॥

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

This little volume is, in the main, a collection of detached essays, which is intended to serve as an introduction to the study of some vexed problems of Indian antiquity, particularly of the early epic and the geographical sections of the Purāṇas. The papers now collected appeared at different times in various literary and historical journals, monthly reviews, vernacular magazines, commemoration volumes and miscellaneous compilations such as the Calcutta Review, the Journal of the Department of Letters (Calcutta University), the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Indian Antiquary, the Indian Historical Quarterly, the Navya-Bhārata, the Mānasī O Marmavāṇi, the Vichitrā, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes and Law's Buddhistic Studies. To the editors and publishers of these works the writer of the following pages takes this opportunity of offering his sincere thanks. The re-issue of the articles has afforded him an opportunity of correcting some typographical mistakes or other errors, that crept into the texts as published in the periodicals and miscellanies named above, particularly the Bengali magazines. Ancient Indian History is a progressive subject, and it is not surprising that, while subjecting the papers to revision, additions, emendations and re-arrangements have, in some cases, been deemed to be necessary.

The essays, disquisitions and notes brought together in the present volume are grouped under four heads, *viz.* (I) Vedic and Epic Studies, (II) Geography, (III) History and Chronology and (IV) Epic and Geographical and Historical Studies in Bengali. While the book as a whole undoubtedly suffers from a lack of unity, Part II, *viz.*, that

dealing with Ancient Indian Geography will, it is hoped, be found to be comparatively free from the defects inherent in an assemblage of independent treatises.

The papers constituting Part I relate to the Vedas and the Epics. The dissertations on the epics have already been noticed by scholars like Washburn Hopkins (Ethics of India, p. 171 n) and M. Winternitz (A History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, translated from the original German by Mrs. S. Ketkar and revised by the author, pp. 473 n, 506 n), while that on the Antiquity of the Ṛigveda has been commented on by Professor A. B. Keith in the Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads, p. 618. The Professor's remark that the writer of the paper based his conclusions only on "the epic or Purāṇa genealogies" is perhaps due to an oversight, as the author referred not only to the *Rāja-paramparā* of the epics and the Purāṇas, but also to the *Āchārya-paramparā* of the Vedic texts, particularly of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*. The essayist was certainly not unaware of the fact that "the *Mahābhārata*, in its present shape, is a late work" and that "the tradition recorded in the *Ādi-parva*" was regarded by some scholars as "mere folklore, useless for historical purposes." He, therefore, adduced evidence from the Vedic texts and observed that "The agreement between the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Upanishads*, and the epic, and the synchronisms established, confirm and corroborate one another and tend to show that the *Rāja-paramparā* and the *Guru-paramparā* are entitled to credence."

The writer of the following pages craves the indulgence of the reader for any mistake and misprint that may have escaped his attention. He owes a special debt of gratitude to Mr. J. C. Chakravarti, Assistant Registrar, Calcutta University, who lent his aid at various stages of the work.

His thanks are also due to Mr. A. C. Ghatak, the Superintendent of the University Press, and his Assistants, for help in reading the proofs.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA H. C. R. C.
June 14, 1932

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

A second edition of the book, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, has afforded the author an opportunity to incorporate further a number of articles, pertaining to the different branches of Indological Studies, that have come out since the publication of the first edition. To the fourteen chapters of the first edition have now been added sixteen more, together with four appendices. Besides the sources, already cited with regard to articles in the first edition, the additional materials have been collected from the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, *Forward's Puja Special*, the *Udbodhana*, the *Prabuddha Bhārata*, the *U. P. Historical Journal*, *B. C. Law* and *R. K. Mookerjee Volumes*, the *Science and Culture*, the *Indian Culture*, several Madras Publications, etc. To the editors and publishers of all these works the author conveys his sincere thanks.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA H. C. R. C.
April, 1957

The book was sent to the Press more than three years back, and a year ago the author passed away after a protracted illness. It fell upon me to see the book through the press. I acknowledge with sincere thanks the help I received from Sri Arabinda Ghosh, M.A., who prepared the Indices, and Dr. S. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil., who read and corrected some of the proofs. My thanks are also due to Sri S. Kanjilal, Superintendent, Calcutta University Press for help received while the book was in the press.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI
May 4, 1958.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Afif.	... Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afîf.
A. G. I.	... Ancient Geography of India (Cunningham).
Araṇya	... Araṇya-Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa.
Arch. S. R. / A. S. R.	... Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India.
A. S. I.	... Archaeological Survey of India (Annual Reports).
Bhāg. P.	... Bhāgavata Purāṇa.
Bomb. Gaz.	... Bombay Gazetteer.
Bṛih. Up.	... Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad.
Cal. Rev.	... Calcutta Review.
Camb. Hist. Ind.	... The Cambridge History of India, Vol. I.
C. I. I. / Corpus.	... Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
C. P.	... The Central Provinces.
Cunn.	... Cunningham.
Dist. Gaz.	... District Gazetteer.
E. H. I.	... Early History of India (V. A. Smith), 4th edition.
Ep. Ind.	... Epigraphia Indica.
H. S.	... Harsha Saṁvat (Era).
Imp. Gaz.	... Imperial Gazetteer.
I. A. / Ind. Ant.	... Indian Antiquary.
Ind. Lit.	... Indian Literature.
Ins.	... Inscription

Jaiminîya Up. Br.	...	Jaiminîya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa.
JASB.	...	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBORS.	...	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
J & P ASB (N.S)	...	Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series).
JRAS.	...	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Kaush. Up.	...	Kaushîtaki Upanishad.
Kish.	...	Kishkindhyā-Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa.
Lank.	...	Lankā-kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa.
Mārk. P.	...	Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.
Mbh.	...	Mahābhārata.
Mem. ASB.	...	Memoir of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Pro.	...	Proceedings.
Raghu.	...	Raghu-vaṁśa (Kālidāsa).
Rām.	...	Rāmāyaṇa.
Rig. V. R. V.	...	Ṛig Veda.
Sans. Lit.	...	Sanskrit Literature.
Sat. Br.	...	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
T. S.	...	Taittirîya Saṁhitā.
U. P.	...	The United Provinces.
Uttara.	...	Uttara-Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa.
Vastr.	...	Vastrāpatha-māhātmya of the Skanda Purāṇa.

Ved. Ind.	...	Vedic Index.
V. S.	...	Vikrama Saṁvat.
W. S. W.	...	West South West.
Z.D.M.G.	...	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

CONTENTS

Part I

Vedic and Epic Studies

Part II

Geography

Part III

History and Chronology

Part IV

PAGE

Epic and Geographical Studies (in Bengali)

PART I

VEDIC AND EPIC STUDIES

STUDIES IN
INDIAN ANTIQUITIES

PART I

VEDIC AND EPIC STUDIES

CHAPTER I

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE ṚIGVEDA

The date of the *Ṛigveda* has been the subject of much discussion and controversy. Scholars are not wanting who would place it in the Miocene or the Pliocene epoch, while others would bring it down to the close of the second, or the beginning of the first, millennium B.C. There is, however, a consensus of opinion regarding its comparative antiquity, and it is almost universally accepted that the *Ṛigveda* is older than the rest of Indian literature, and that even the latest parts of the work are much older than Buddha Śākyamuni. But the number of centuries which separated the latest hymns from the time of the founder of Buddhism is a matter regarding which there is the widest divergence of opinion.

Max Müller, starting from the date of Alexander's invasion, and assigning a period of two hundred years for the development of each of the four literary strata discernible in the Vedic literature, arrived at the date 1200 to 1000 B.C. as the beginning of Vedic poetry, and his view has been accepted by scholars like Macdonell and Keith. Tilak and Jacobi, on the other hand, tried to push the date much farther back on astronomical grounds. But, as pointed out

by Macdonell,[1] Keith[2] and Winternitz[3] it is not safe to build a chronological edifice on a foundation the solidity of which is subject to grave doubts. The last-mentioned scholar justly attaches greater importance to historical and geographical arguments, and it is to such arguments that we shall adhere in this humble treatise.

Professor Winternitz seeks to show that the *Ṛigveda* is the oldest literary work in India. While accepting the general observations of the Professor regarding the priority of the *Ṛigveda* to the other Vedic texts, and to the earliest literature of the Jains and the Buddhists, we confess that we find it difficult to follow some of his arguments, particularly those which lead him to think that the age of the *Ṛigveda* must be placed nearer the date assumed by Jacobi and Tilak than to that adopted by Max Müller.

Thus it is impossible to endorse the view that "during the whole time from the first beginnings to the last offshoots of Vedic literature the Indo-Aryan people have only conquered the comparatively small area from the Indus to the Ganges." The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* is certainly older than the "last offshoots of Vedic literature," and in it we have a reference to several kingdoms of *Dakshiṇā Diś* or the Southern Region, and in particular to the Aryan kingdom of Vidarbha (Berar) whose king Bhīma received instruction regarding the substitute for the Soma juice through a succession of teachers from Parvata and Nārada. King Bhīma was only fourth in spiritual succession from Somaka, son of Sahadeva, who is mentioned in the *Ṛigveda* (iv. 15. 7-8). The *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* mentions a teacher named Vidarbhî Kauṇḍinya whose name marks him out as an inhabitant of the city of Kuṇḍina in Vidarbha, and who was only three generations removed from Ayāsya Aṅgirasa or Āṅgirasa, a

[1] *Sans. Lit.*, p. 12. [2] *Camb. Hist.*, pp. 111-12.
[3] *Cal. Rev.*, Nov. 1923, p. 126.

Ṛigvedic ṛishi, the composer of many *Ṛigvedic* hymns.[1] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* refers to Naḍa Naishadha, a famous king, whose realm Nishadha lay apparently in the Vindhyan region.[2]

It is thus clear that not only the Ganges valley, but a considerable portion of Central India and the Deccan was Aryanised long before "the last offshoots of Vedic literature." Consequently we fail to appreciate the force of the following arguments of Winternitz, "if it took such a long time for Aryan civilisation to spread only from the extreme north-west to the eastern Ganges district, how many centuries must have been required not only for Vedic literature but at the same time also for Brāhmaṇical culture, theology and even priestly supremacy to pervade the whole of Central and Southern India." Let us not be misunderstood; the Aryanisation of India was certainly not accomplished in a day. But Winternitz's estimate of the requisite period is, in our opinion, based on a wrong premise.

Again when Winternitz says that the *Ṛigveda* is older than Pārśva he is probably correct, but in the absence of genuine works which can, with any amount of certainty, be referred to Pārśva himself, can it be said with confidence that the *Veda* must have been completed and considered as the sacred text of Brāhmaṇism as early as the eighth century B.C. (the traditional age of Pārśva)? The truth is that although Winternitz is right in holding that the *Ṛigveda* is more ancient than any other literary product of India, yet when he actually tries to measure the distance which separates the work from well-known chronological epochs his arguments are not quite convincing.

[1] *Cf.* x. 67. 1; 108. 8; ix. 44-46; x. 67, 68; *Ved. Ind.*, i. 32; *Brih. Up.*, ii. 6; iv. 6.

[2] *Śat. Br.*, ii. 2, 2, 1. 2; *Mārk. Purāṇa*, lvii. 54-55.

But are there no hints and indications in the Vedic literature itself which may help us to arrive at an approximate date of the *Ṛik Saṁhitā*? We think there are, and it will be our endeavour in this treatise to draw the attention of scholars to a few facts which, while they do not solve the problem, lend some additional weight to the brilliant conjecture of Max Müller.

In the 98th Sūkta of the 10th Maṇḍala of the *Ṛik Saṁhitā* mention is made of two personages named Śaṁtanu and Devāpi whom Yāska represents as two brothers, sons of a Kuru king. The younger Śaṁtanu became king, Devāpi having made choice of a life of penance. It is impossible not to recognise in these two scions of the Kuru royal family, the famous Kuru king Śāntanu and his ascetic brother Devāpi immortalised in the pages of the *Mahābhārata*.[1] According to the Great Epic king Śaṁtanu was sixth in the ascending line from Parikshit (son of Abhimanyu who died in the Bhārata War). If this tradition has any value the end of the *Ṛigvedic* period cannot be separated by more than six generations from the time of the last-mentioned sovereign. It may, however, be argued that the *Mahābhārata*, in its present shape, is a late work, and the tradition recorded in the *Ādiparva* regarding the relationship

[1] The epithet Ārshṭishena applied to Devāpi does not necessarily indicate that he was the *son* of Ṛishṭishena, any more than the epithet Gairikshita applied to Paurukutsya, *i.e.*, Trasadasyu (*Ṛig V.*, 33. 8), shows that he was the son of Girikshit, or the epithet Saudyumni applied to Bharata Dauḥshanti shows that he was the son of Sudyumna. Ṛishṭishena may have been a remote ancestor of Devāpi, or the name might have been a secondary epithet of Pratīpa, as Vasushena of Karṇa and Mahāsena of Pradyota. As to the epithet Aulāna which, according to some, refers to Śaṁtanu it may be pointed out that 'Ilina' is actually mentioned in the dynastic lists of the *Mahābhārata* as the name of an ancestor of Śaṁtanu. The name had variants, and the real name may have been Ülana as the *Ṛigvedic* word suggests.

between Saṁtanu and Parikshit is mere folklore, useless for historical purposes. But the main conclusion at which we have arrived, namely, that the *Ṛigveda* is separated by not more than six generations from the time of Parikshit, receives striking confirmation from another quarter. We have already referred to the sage Ayāsya Āṅgirasa who is the composer of many hymns of the *Ṛigveda*, and who is mentioned by name in the tenth *Maṇḍala*. In two lists of teachers given in the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* (ii. 6 ; iv. 6) this sage is represented as being ninth in the ascending line from Vātsya, pupil of Śāṇḍilya, whereas Tura Kāvasheya, the priest of Parikshit's son (and Abhimanyu's grandson),[1] is only fifth in the ascending line from the same teacher (Vātsya) as we learn from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (end of Book X). In other words, Ayāsya is separated by four or five generations from Tura as will appear from the following table:—

Ayāsya Āṅgirasa	...	
Pathin Saubhara	...	
Vatsanapāt Bābhrava	...	
Vidarbhī Kauṇḍinya	...	
Gālava	...	Tura Kāvasheya.
Kumāra Hārita	...	Yajñavachas Rājastambāyana.
Kaiśorya Kāpya	...	Kuśri
Śāṇḍilya	...	Śāṇḍilya.
Vātsya	...	Vātsya.

We are further told by the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* that Ayāsya flourished thirteen or fourteen generations before Āsuri (a near spiritual ancestor of Āsurāyaṇa), while a perusal of page 18 of the *Political History of Ancient India from the Accession of Parikshit to the Coronation of Bimbisāra* (first edition) will show that Tura Kāvasheya was only seven generations removed from the same teacher (Āsuri). According to this calculation Ayāsya was six or

[1] *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, ix. 22, 25-26; *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, viii. 21.

seven generations removed from Tura. It is clear that Ayāsya was older by not less than four, nor more than six or seven generations from the time of Tura Kāvasheya and his contemporary Janamejaya, son of Parikshit. We must make allowance for the difference of one or two generations while comparing the various lists of teachers, because all the *Ṛishis* did not live for an equal length of time. Moreover, we have instances in which a teacher appears both as *Guru* and *Parama Guru* of the same person. We may take six as the mean number of generations which separated the teachers Ayāsya and Tura.[1] If the *Mahābhārata* tradition regarding the relationship between Śaṁtanu and Parikshit

[1] The conclusion at which we have arrived from a study of the *Achārya-paramparā* in the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* is strikingly confirmed by the *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka.* That work gives a list of teachers according to which Viśvāmitra and Devarāta (Śunaḥ-śepa), the composers of many *Ṛigvedic* hymns, who, according to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, are contemporaries of Ayāsya Āṅgirasa, are 15th and 14th respectively in the ascending line from Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana, whereas Tura Kāvasheya, the priest of Janamejaya Pārikshita, is only eighth in the ascending line from the same teacher (*Political History of Ancient India*, first edition, pp. 9, 18).

1. Viśvāmitra	...	...
2. Devarāta	...	...
3. Sākamaśva	...	...
4. Vyaśva	...	...
5. Viśvamanā	...	...
6. Uddālaka	...	...
7. Sumnayu	...	...
8. Bṛihaddiva	...	8. Tura Kāvasheya.
9. Prativeśya	...	9. Yajñavachas Rājastambāyana.
10. Sauma Prātiveśya	...	10. Kuśri.
11. Somapa	...	11. Śāṇḍilya.
12. Priyavrata Saumāpi	...	12. Vātsya.
13. Uddālaka Āruṇi	...	13. Vāmakakshāyaṇa Uddālaka Āruṇi.
14. Kahola Kaushitaki	...	14. Yājñavalkya and Kahola.
15. Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana	...	15. Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana.

has any value this would make Ayāsya a contemporary of Saṁtanu, and an elder contemporary of the Ṛishi Parāśara who is well-known in the Epic as a contemporary of the second wife of that king. That our surmise is probably correct is proved by the evidence of the *Aitareya* and *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇas*. According to the story of Sunaḥ-śepa narrated in the *Aitareya* (vii. 13-18)—which in the opinion of Winternitz himself is a legend of time-honoured age—Ayāsya was the *Udgātā* of king Hariśchandra whose court was visited by Parvata and Nārada. Consequently Ayāsya and Nārada were contemporaries. Now the *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa*[1] tells us that Nārada taught Vishvaksena and the latter taught Vyāsa Pārāśarya (son of Parāśara). Parāśara, father of Vyāsa, was thus, on the evidence of the *Brāhmaṇa*, a contemporary of Vishvaksena and a junior contemporary of Nārada and of Ayāsya if, as is possible, Nārada of the *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa* be identical with his namesake of the *Aitareya*. And this is just the conclusion at which we have arrived from a study of the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* and the *Mahābhārata*. The agreement between the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Upanishad* and the *Epic*, and the synchronisms established, confirm and corroborate one another and tend to show that the *Rāja-paramparā* and the *Guru-paramparā* to which we have drawn attention, are entitled to credence. We have no valid reason, therefore, for doubting their authenticity and historical value. If that be so, it is impossible to believe that Saṁtanu and Ayāsya could be more than six or seven generations older than Janamejaya Pārikshita and Tura Kāvasheya. Now Rhys Davids in his Buddhist Suttas adduces good grounds for assigning a period of hundred and fifty years to the five Theras from Upāli to Mahinda. If the five Theras be assigned a period of hundred and fifty

[1] *Ved. Ind.*, ii, pp. 315, 339.

years, the six or seven teachers from Ayāsya to Tura may be assigned a period of two centuries. And the tenth *Maṇḍala* of the *Ṛigveda* referring to Ayāsya could not have been composed more than two hundred years before the time of Janamejaya, the patron of Tura. In the *Political History of Ancient India* we have tried to show that Parikshit, father of Janamejaya, flourished probably in the 9th century B.C. In that case the date of the hymns mentioning Ayāsya cannot be earlier than the 11th century B.C. Even if we accept the Purāṇic date (1,015 years before Nanda, *i.e.*, 14th century B.C.) for Parikshit, father of Janamejaya, the *Ṛigveda* could not have been completed earlier than the 16th century B.C.

It may be argued that the tenth *Maṇḍala* of the *Ṛik Saṁhitā* is a later addition. Is there any evidence that some of the other *Maṇḍalas* were known at the time of Ayāsya and Śaṁtanu ? Fortunately the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* throws a flood of light on the solution of this question also. In the Śunaḥ-śepa legend Ayāsya is mentioned as a contemporary not only of Nārada but also of Vaśishṭha, of Viśvāmitra, father of Madhuchchhandas, of Madhuchchhandas himself and of Śunaḥ-śepa, adopted son of Viśvāmitra. Now Viśvāmitra, *sunu* (son) of Kuśika (*i.e.*, father of Madhuchchhandas), is mentioned as the author of several hymns of the third *Maṇḍala*, while his son Madhuchchhandas is the *ṛishi* of the very first hymns of the first and ninth *Maṇḍalas*. Śunaḥ-śepa is mentioned in the *Ṛigveda*, i. 24. 13 and v. 2. 7. The seventh book refers to Vasishṭha, grandfather of Parāśara and contemporary of Viśvāmitra, *sunu* of Kuśika, and what is more important, it mentions Parāśara himself who, as we have seen, was a younger contemporary of Ayāsya and is, moreover, the *Ṛishi* of the hymns, i. 65 *et seq.* If the evidence of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* has any value, part of the first, third, fifth, seventh and ninth *Maṇḍalas* of the *Ṛigveda* will have

to be dated in or about the time of Ayāsya.[1] Thus a large part, if not the whole, of the *Ṛik Saṁhitā* was composed not earlier than the eleventh century B.C. according to the system of chronology suggested in the *Political History of Ancient India* (16th century according to the chronology of the Purāṇas). The references to Śunaḥ-śepa, Parāśara (Śāktya according to the Anukramaṇī) and Śaṁtanu are too clear to be explained away.

The conclusion at which we have arrived is borne out by linguistic and geographical evidence. All scholars of note refer to the striking coincidence in language between the *Avesta* and the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achæmenian kings (6th century B.C.) on the one hand, and the *Ṛigveda* on the other. Prof. Winternitz admits that the two languages, Old Persian and Old High Indian, are so closely related that it is not difficult to translate the Old Persian inscriptions right into the language of the Veda. In view of this fact we cannot lightly dismiss the testimony of those Vedic texts according to which some of the personages mentioned in the *Ṛigveda* flourished only about half a dozen generations earlier than Parikshit.

Again, though it may be conceded that the geographical conditions as reflected in the hymns of the *Ṛigveda* point to a higher antiquity than those described in the

[1] Independent proof of the approximate date of Viśvāmitra and his adopted son and pupil Śunaḥ-śepa (Devarāta), and consequently of the hymns composed by them, is furnished by the list of teachers at the end of the *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka* according to which Viśvāmitra and Devarāta are 15th and 14th respectively in the ascending line from Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana, and about six or seven generations removed from Tura Kāvasheya, and Janamejaya Pārikshita. This would place them about two centuries before the age of Parikshit (9th century B.C. according to the system of chronology suggested in the *Political History of Ancient India* and 14th century B.C. according to some Purāṇas).

Brāhmaṇas, yet there is sufficient evidence to show that the two cannot well be separated by thousands of years. In the time of the *Ṛigveda* Aryan settlements had spread as far as the country of the Chedis and the river Sarayū the association of which with the Ārya Chitraratha[1] suggests that the river which flows past Ayodhyā is meant. If the story in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* regarding the spread of Aryan culture to Videha has any value then it cannot be denied that Videha was colonised within a generation after the *Ṛigvedic* period, for Gotama Rahūgaṇa,[2] one of the pioneers of Vedic culture in Videha as well as Namī Sāpya, king of Videha[3] are mentioned in the *Ṛigveda*. The name of Vidarbhī Kauṇḍinya, fourth in spiritual succession from Ayāsya, presupposes the spread of Aryan civilisation to Vidarbha within four generations from the *Ṛigvedic* period. The mention of Bhîma Vaidarbha as fourth in spiritual succession from the *Ṛigvedic* king Somaka, son of Sahadeva,[4] in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* points to the same conclusion.

It may, however, be asked that if the *Ṛigvedic* Aryans and their proximate successors spread as far as Videha in the east and Vidarbha in the south, how are we to account for the absence of any reference to such well-known *Janapadas* as Kuru, Pañchāla, Śūrasena, Kosala and Magadha in the *Ṛigveda*?

Now, in the first place it may be pointed out that the *Ṛigveda* is not a geographical manual, and too much importance should not be attached to the *argumentum ex silentio*. The famous river hymn of the tenth *Maṇḍala* which shows an intimate acquaintance with the whole

[1] *Ṛigveda*, iv. 30. 18; *Rāmāyaṇa*, ii. 32. 17.

[2] *Ṛigveda*, i. 78.5; *Sat. Br.*, i. 4. 1. 10, etc.; xi. 4.3.20.

[3] *Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, xxv. 10.17; *Ṛigveda*, vi. 20. 6; x. 48.9.

[4] *Ṛigveda.*, iv. 15. 7-8.

country from the Gaṅgā to the Kubhā, and mentions even insignificant streams like the Marudvṛidhā, Ārjīkīyā and Sushomā, omits to mention the Dṛishadvatī, Vipāś and Suvāstu. But that these were well-known to the *Ṛigvedic* poets is clear from other passages. The Atharva Veda certainly knows the Aṅgas and the Magadhas but never refers to the Ganges, the Śoṇa and the Champā. Hiuen Tsang in his account of Mathurā and the surrounding district does not refer to the Jumna. All these show the dangers of the *argumentum ex silentio*. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that all the recensions of the *Ṛik Saṁhitā*[1] have not come down to us. We have instances in which names omitted in one recension do occur in another recension of the same work (cf. the mention of the Kāśis in the Paippalāda recension of the Atharva Veda). But we need not pursue the matter further because the *Ṛigveda*, actually refers to the peoples called Kurus, Pañchālas, Śūrasenas, Kosalas and Magadhas though under different names, *viz.*, Bharatas, Krivis, Yadus, Āryas on the banks of the Sarayū, and Kīkaṭas respectively. The territorial and racial connexion between the Bharatas and Kurus is established both by epic and Vedic evidence.[2] Moreover, the name Kuru itself seems to be alluded to in the appellations Kuru-śravaṇa and Kaurayāṇa. As to the Krivis, their identity with the Pañchālas is proved by the testimony of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xiii. 5. 4. 7). The Dālbhyas, a well-known Pañchāla family,[3] are expressly mentioned in the *Ṛigveda* in connexion with the river Gomatī (v. 61. 17-19), and it need not be pointed

[1] Cf. *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, iii. 4

[2] *Ṛigveda*, iii. 23. 2-4 ; *Sat. Br.*, xiii. 5. 4. 11. 21 : Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 409, 410.

[3] *Jaiminīya Up. Br.*, xiii. 29. 1.; iv. 7. 2.

out that a river called Gomatī flows past Rohilkhand, ancient Uttara Pañchāla. That the Yadus were in the *Madhyadeśa* or the "Middle Country" watered by the Upper Ganges and its tributaries, appears probable from their connexion with the Turvaśas and the river Sarayū.[1] The position of the Turvaśas is determined by their connexion with the Yakshus[2] of the Jumna valley [3], with the Pañchālas [4] and the allied tribe of the Sṛiñjayas.[5] A *Ṛigvedic* passage (v. 52. 17) seems even to suggest a reference to the famous Gokul on the Jumna so well-known in Purāṇic legends about the Yadus and the Śūrasenas. As to the Āryas on the banks of the Sarayū,[6] one of them, the Ārya Chitraratha is actually mentioned as a *Sachiva* of the Ikshvākus of Ayodhyā in the Rāmāyaṇa. The Ikshvākus themselves are referred to in *Ṛigveda*, x. 60. 4. Regarding the Kikaṭas the only evidence that is available, *viz.*, the evidence of the *Vāyu* (108.73) and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (i. 3. 24 ; with Śrīdhara's commentary), the *Bṛihad-dharma Purāṇa* (xxvi 20f), the *Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi*, etc., identifies them with the people of Magadha, the scene of Buddha's enlightenment. And it is not unreasonable to prefer the unanimous testimony of Guptan and mediaeval works to twentieth century guesses.

We have tried to adduce some evidence regarding the approximate date of some of the hymns of the *Ṛigveda*. Do the Vedic texts furnish any clue as to the date of the foundation of any of the Aryan kingdoms in India ? Now, a passage of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* refers to a Sṛiñjaya

1 *Ṛigveda*, iv. 30. 17-28.
2 *Ibid.*, vii. 18. 6.
3 *Ibid*, vii. 18. 19.
4 *Sat. Br.*, xiii. 5. 4. 16.
5 *Ṛigveda*, vi. 27. 7.
6 *Ibid.*, iv. 30. 18.

king named Dushtarītu whose realm had existed only for ten generations, and who was a contemporary of the Kuru chief Balhika Prātipīya. It is not unreasonable to infer from this that the foundation of the Sṛiñjaya kingdom took place ten generations earlier than the time of Balhika Prātipīya whom the Great Epic consistently represents as a brother of Śaṁtanu. The Sṛiñjayas are, as is well-known, one of the most famous tribes of the *Ṛigveda*. Even if we allow the high figure of thirty years for a generation, we cannot place the foundation of the kingdom of this *Ṛigvedic* people before the fourteenth century B.C. according to the system of chronology suggested in the *Political History of Ancient India* and nineteenth century B.C. according to the chronology of the Purāṇas. Thus the date of the rise of one at least of the *Ṛigvedic* kingdoms cannot possibly be pushed farther back than the second millennium B.C. For the evidence of the Indus seals (possibly belonging to the immediate predecessors of the Aryan conquerors, see Carleton, *Buried Empires*, 141-42).

CHAPTER II

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA AND THE BESNAGAR INSCRIPTION OF HELIODOROS

The Besnagar Inscription records the erection of a *Garuḍa-dhvaja* of Vāsudeva, the god of gods, by the *Bhāgavata* Heliodora (Heliodoros), the son of Diya (Dion), the Takhkhasilāka (native of Taxila), a Yona (Greek) ambassador, who came from Mahārāja Aṁtalikita (Antialkidas) to Rājan (Kāsiputra) Bhāgabhadra the Saviour (*trātāra*), who was prospering in the fourteenth year of his reign.

As this inscription is one of the earliest records of the *Bhāgavatas*, *i. e.*, the followers of Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa, it is interesting to inquire in what relation it stands to the Great Epic which calls itself the Kārshṇa Veda.[1]

At the outset, I beg to draw the attention of scholars to the remarkable passage which forms the second part of the famous epigraph. It runs as follows :—

Trini amuta padāni (*su*) *anuṭhitāni*
nayamti svaga dama chāga apramāda.

"Three immortal precepts when practised lead to heaven—Restraint, Renunciation and Vigilance."

So far as I know no serious attempt has yet been made to find out the source from which these precepts are taken. In my *Early History of the Vaishṇava Sect*, I pointed out that *dama*, *tyāga* and *apaiśunam* are inculcated in the *Gitā*, xvi. 1-2. But *apaiśunam* can hardly be regarded as equivalent to *apramāda*. There are, however, a few verses in the *Strî-parva* (7. 23-25) of the *Mahābhārata*

[1] Mbh., 1. 1. 268; xviii., 5. 41.

which show a closer resemblance to the passage of the Besnagar inscription. The verses are quoted below :—

Damastyāgo'pramādaścha te trayo Brahmaṇo hayāḥ
Śīlaraśmi samāyuktaḥ sthito yo mānase rathe
tyaktvā mṛityubhayaṁ rājan Brahmalokaṁ sa gachchhati.

"Restraint, Renunciation and Vigilance—these are the three horses of Brahman. He who rides on the car of his soul, to which are yoked these horses with the help of reins furnished by good conduct, goes, O King, to the regions of Brahma, shaking off all fear of death."

No one can help being struck by the remarkable coincidence between the epic verses and the epigraphic passage mentioned above. *Dama*, *tyāga* and *apramāda* are mentioned in identical terms in both. "*Amutapadāni*" of the Besnagar Inscription has its parallel in the expression "*tyaktvā mṛityubhayaṁ* " of the *Mahābhārata*, while *Svaga* of the epigraph corresponds to *Brahmaloka* of the epic. It is clear that there was some close connection between the teaching of the *Mahābhārata* and that of the Besnagar Inscription.

There is another important fact which should not be overlooked. Heliodoros, the Greek ambassador to whom we owe the inscription, was a native of Takshaśilā (Taxila) in Gandhāra. The city of Takshaśilā figures prominently in the story of the recitation of the Mahābhārata. It was at this city that Janamejaya heard from Vaiśampāyana the famous story of the Kurus and the Pāṇḍus. This is clear from the following verses of the *Svargārohaṇa-parva* :—

Vaiśampāyana uvācha :

Etat te sarvamākhyātaṁ vistareṇa mahādyute
Kurūṇāṁ charitaṁ kṛitsnaṁ Pāṇḍavānāñcha Bhārata

Sautir uvācha :

etachchhrutvā dvijaśreshṭhāḥ sa rājā Janamejayaḥ
vismito'bhavad atyarthaṁ yajñakarmāntareshvatha
tataḥ samāpayāmāsuḥ karma tat tasya yājakāḥ
Āstīkaśchābhavat prītaḥ parimokshya bhujaṅgamān
tato dvijātīn sarvāṁstān dakshiṇābhir atoshayat
pūjitāśchāpi te rājñā tato jagmuryathāgatam
visarjayitvā viprāṁstān rājāpi Janamejayaḥ
tatas Takshaśilāyaḥ sa punarāyād Gajāhvayaṁ.

(*Mbh. xviii.* 5. 30-34)

Vaiśampāyana said :

"I have now told you, O you of great splendour, everything about the acts, O Bhārata, of both the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas."

Sauti said :

"Hearing this, O foremost of twice-born ones, at the intervals of sacrificial rites, King Janamejaya became filled with wonder.

The sacrificial priests then finished the rites which remained to go through. Āstîka, having rescued the snakes (from a fiery death) became filled with joy.

King Janamejaya then pleased all the Brāhmaṇas with profuse presents. Thus adored by the king, they returned to their respective abodes.

Having dismissed those learned Brāhmaṇas, king Janamejaya returned from Takshaśilā to Hāstinapura."

(M. N. Dutt Śāstri's translation.)

The last statement shows that the king was at Takshaśilā (Taxila) when Vaiśampāyana was reciting the story of the Kurus and the Pāṇḍus. It is thus apparent from internal evidence that Takshaśilā had something to do with the diffusion of the knowledge of Vaiśampāyana's version of the Great Epic. It is significant that one of

the earliest references to the *Mahābhārata* is found in the *Ashṭādhyāyî* of Pāṇini, a native of Śālātura which lay not far from Takshaśila and formed part of the kingdom of Gandhāra.

The testimony of Pāṇini shows that the *Mahābhārata* was well known to the people of Gandhāra from a period long anterior to the time of Heliodoros (second century B.C.), while the evidence of the *Svargārohaṇa-parva* suggests that it used to be recited by *Vāchakas* or *Pāṭhakas* in the presence of the great men of Takshaśilā (Taxila). In view of this fact, and of the remarkable coincidence between the verses of the *Strî-parva* of the *Mahābhārata* and the second part of the Besnagar Inscription, it is not unreasonable to think that Heliodoros of Taxila actually heard and utilised the teaching of the Great Epic. Evidently the *Mahābhārata* played an important part in the Hinduisation of the foreign settlers of the Indian borderland.

CHAPTER III

INTER-RELATION OF THE TWO EPICS OF ANCIENT INDIA

There has been considerable misconception regarding the inter-relation of the two famous epics of Ancient India, *viz.*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. Thus Professor Macdonell observes in his *Sanskrit Literature*: "The original part of the *Rāmāyaṇa* appears to have been completed at a time when the epic kernel of the *Mahābhārata* had not as yet assumed definite shape. For while the heroes of the latter are not mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the story of Rāma is often referred to in the longer epic. Again, in a passage of Book VII (141, 49) of the *Mahābhārata* which cannot be regarded as a later addition, two lines are quoted as Vālmîki's that occur unaltered in Book VI of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The poem of Vālmîki must, therefore, have been generally known as an old work before the *Mahābhārata* assumed a coherent form. In Book III (cantos 277-291) of the latter epic, moreover, there is a *Rāmopākhyāna* or 'Episode of Rama,' which seems to be based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*."

In the passage quoted above Professor Macdonell gives three reasons in support of his statement that the poem of Vālmîki was known as an old work before the *Mahābhārata* assumed a coherent form, namely, the absence of any reference to Bhārata heroes in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the occurrence of a *śloka* of Vālmîki in the *Droṇaparva* and the inclusion of a *Rāmopākhyāna* within the Great Epic.[1]

[1] For epic versification, and phraseology etc. reference may be made to Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, 63 (Jacobi's opinion), 65ff, 191ff (discussion by Hopkins).

Now it is difficult to endorse the view that the heroes of the *Mahābhārata* are not mentioned in the Lesser Epic. The *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is full of passages which contain undoubted references to characters of the Great Epic. Thus in *Uttara*, lxiii. 20-22, we have a reference to Vāsudeva of the Yadu family, *i.e.*, Krishṇa and also to the **incarnation of Nara**, *i.e.*, Arjuna Pāṇḍava :—

Utpatsyate hi loke'smin Yadūnāṁ kīrtivardhanaḥ
Vāsudeva iti khyāto Vishṇuḥ purusha-vigrahaḥ
sa te mokshayitā śāpād rājaṁstasmād bhavishyait
kṛitā cha tena kālena nishkṛitiste bhavishyati
bhārāvataraṇārthaṁ hi Nara-Nārāyaṇāvubhau
utpatsyete mahāvīryau Kalau yuge upasthite.

The following verses (*Uttara*, xxiv. 32-42) mention *Purusha Śyāma* (Krishṇa) and refer to his victory over Kaṁsa :—

Ya esha purushaḥ śyāmo dvāre tishṭhati nitydā
etena dānavendrāścha tathānye balavattarāḥ
vaśaṁ nītā balavatā pūrve pūrvatarāścha ye
Yamalārjunau cha Kaṁsaścha Kaiṭabho Madhunā saha.

Rādheya and Hārddikya of the following verse probably refer to Karṇa and Kṛitavarman, respectively (*Uttara*, vi. 35) :—

Rādheya bahumāyācha lokapālo'tha dhārmikaḥ
Yamalārjunau cha Hārddikyaḥ Śumbhaśchaiva
Niśumbhakaḥ.

Dhaumya, the priest of the Pāṇḍavas (Mbh. iii. 3. 1-4) appears to be mentioned in *Uttara*, 1.4 :—

Nṛishanguḥ Kavashī Dhaumyaḥ Kauśeyaścha mahān ṛishiḥ.

The association of Dhaumya with Kavashī is significant. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (*Vedic Index*, I, p. 314) and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tura Kāvasheya appears as a *Purohita* of Janamejaya, son of Parikshit, whose connection with the

Pāṇḍu family is well-known (*cf.* Janamejayaḥ Pāṇḍaveyaḥ, *Mbh.*, I. 38. 2)

It may be argued that the *Uttara-kāṇḍa* is a later addition. But references to *Mahābhārata* characters are not confined to this book. The *Ādi-kāṇḍa* (xl. 2-3) mentions Vāsudeva and his Kāpila-rūpa, *i.e.*, incarnation as Kapila.

Yasyeyaṁ vasudhā kritsnā Vāsudevasya dhīmataḥ
mahishī Mādhavasyaishā sa eva bhagavān prabhuḥ
Kāpilaṁ rūpamāsthāya dhārayatyaniśaṁ dharām.

The *Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa* (lxiv. 42) alludes to King Janamejaya along with several famous kings of bygone times such as Sagara, Śaibya, Dilīpa, Nahusha and Dhundhumāra. This Janamejaya must be identified with the famous son of Parikshit and not with any of the shadowy Janamejayas mentioned in some genealogical lists.

The following verse of the same book (xxx. 6) contains a reference to the principal characters of one of the finest episodes of the Great Epic :—

Dyumatsena-sutaṁ vīraṁ Satyavantam anuvratām
Sāvitrīmiva māṁ viddhi tvaṁ ātmavaśavartinīm.

Satyavat and Sāvitri are again mentioned in the *Sundarakāṇḍa* (xxiv. 11-12) which also refers to the principal characters of the Nala episode :—

Sāvitrī Satyavantañcha Kapilaṁ Śrīmatī yathā
Saudāsaṁ Madayantī cha Keśinī Sagaraṁ yathā
Naishadhaṁ Damayantī cha Bhaimī patimanuvratā
tathāham Ikshvākuvaraṁ Rāmaṁ patimanuvratā.

The *Kishkindhyā-kāṇḍa* (xlii. 28) alludes to the acquisition of the famous Śaṅkha of Krishṇa called *Pāñchajanya*, while the *Lānkā-kāṇḍa* (cxix. 15-27) identifies Krishṇa with Rāma :—

Tatra Pañchajanaṁ hatvā Hayagrîvañcha dānavam
ājahāra tataśchakraṁ śaṅkhañcha Purushottamaḥ
(Kish. xlii. 28.)

Śārṅga-dhanvā Hṛishīkeśaḥ purushaḥ purushottamaḥ.
ajitaḥ khaḍga-dhṛig Vishṇuḥ Kṛishṇaśchaiva Bṛihadbalaḥ
(Laṅkā cxix. 15.)

Sītā Lakshmîr bhavān Vishṇur devaḥ Kṛishṇaḥ Prajāpatiḥ.
(*Ibid*, cxix. 27.)

The *Laṅkā-kāṇḍa* further seems to refer to the famous episode of the uplifting of Mount Govardhana :—

Parigṛihya giriṁ dorbhyāṁ vapur Vishṇor viḍambayan.
(Laṅkā, lxix. 32 ; *cf*. Mbh. ii. 41. 9.)

From the verses quoted above it is clear that the poem of Vālmîki is acquainted not only with some of the principal characters of the Pāṇḍu story, but also with the heroes and heroines of some of the finest *Upākhyānas* of the Great Epic. It may no doubt be argued that the verses in question are late *interpolations*, but such may also be the case with passages of the Great Epic which contain references to the Rāma story. Professor Macdonell does not assign any reason why the passage of the *Droṇa-parva* which quotes two lines of Vālmîki's poem cannot be regarded as a later addition. As the *Śloka* of Vālmîki occurs in a book which was "much expanded" (Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, p. 62), it is not improbable that it is to be included in the "outer layer" of the Great Epic, *i.e.*, the interpolated portions (*ibid*, p. 79).

As regards the *Rāmopākhyāna* we should note that the version of the Rāma story contained in it differs in many respects from that contained in Vālmîki's poem. The *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Uttara*, ix. 33-35) represents Rāvaṇa, Kumbha-

karṇa, Śūrpaṇakhā and Vibhîshaṇa, as children of one and the same mother, Kaikasī. The *Rāmopākhyāna*, (*Mbh.*, iii, 274. 7-8), on the other hand, makes Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa sons of Pushpotkaṭā, Vibhîshaṇa, the son of Mālinî, and Khara and Śūrpaṇakhā the children of Rākā. Again the *Rāmāyaṇa* (vi. 7) represents Rāma as the destroyer of Kumbhakarṇa. On the other hand, the *Rāmopākhyāna* (*Mbh.*, iii. 26) represents Lakshmaṇa as the slayer of Kumbhakarṇa. These facts seem to indicate that the *Rāmopākhyāna* is not based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Like the author of the *Dasaratha Jātaka*, the author of the *Rāmopākhyāna* may have followed an independent tradition. In this connection we should remember that Vālmîki was probably not the first to attempt a Rāma Epic. A verse of the *Buddha-charita* of Aśvaghosa possibly records an unsuccessful attempt made by Chyavana, a predecessor of Vālmîki, to write the famous poem which was to make the name of his illustrious descendant immortal.

Vālmîki-nādaścha sasarja padyaṁ
jagraṁthayanna Chyavano Maharshiḥ.

We learn from the *Mahābhārata* (1. 6. 4.) that Chyavana had the patronymic Bhārgava. Curiously enough the *Śānti-parva* of the *Mahābhārata* (lvii. 40) cites a verse from Bhārgava's *Rāmacharita*. No doubt Vālmîki, too, is called Bhārgava sattamaḥ in the *Matsya Purāṇa* (xii. 51). But the verse cited in the *Śānti-parva* is not found in his poem, though it agrees *in sense* with *Rāmāyaṇa* (ii. 67. 11). Some scholars, however, read *Rāja-charita* in the place of *Rāma-charita* and identify its author with Uśanas who was also a Bhārgava. But the fact that Vālmîki had his precursors is proved conclusively by the evidence of the *Ādi-kāṇḍa* which tells us that the *Ākhyāna* called *Rāmāyaṇa* first originated with the Ikshvāku family and that Vālmîki knew Rāma only by hearsay :—

Ikshvākūnāṁ idaṁ teshāṁ rājñāṁ vaṁśe mahātmanām mahad utpannaṁ ākhyānaṁ Rāmāyaṇaṁ iti śrutam.
(Ādi. V. 3.)

Ikshvāku-vaṁśaprabhavo Rāmo nāma janaiḥ śrutaḥ
(Ādi. i. 8.)

Hopkins (*The Great Epic of India*, p. 60) draws our attention to the fact that neither of the two epics of Ancient India is recognised before the period of the *Gṛihya-sūtras*, and the first epic recognised here and in other *sūtras* is the *Bhārata*. But he says (p. 385) that the oldest heroes of *Bhārata* are not of the Pāṇḍu family. He draws a distinction between the original *Bhāratî-kathā* and the Pāṇḍu story and says that the *Bhāratî-kathā* is older than Vālmîki's poem, but the story of Rāma is older than the story of the Pāṇḍus (*The Great Epic of India*, p. 64). We should, however, remember that Janaka and Aśvapati Kekaya, two important figures in the Rāma story as given by Vâlmîki, are represented in several Vedic works as flourishing long after the Pārikshitas, *i.e.*, the great-grandsons of the principal hero of the *Mahābhārata*. In the time of the Vedic Janaka the life and end of the Pārikshitas were, as pointed out by Weber, still fresh in the memory of the people and formed a subject of general curiosity. In the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* (iii. 3. 1) we find Bhujyu Lāhyāyani testing Yājñavalkya, the ornament of the court of Janaka, with a question the solution of which the former had previously obtained from Sudhanvā Āṅgirasa, a *Gandharva*, who had in his possession the daughter of Kāpya Patañchala of the Madra territory :—

"*Kva Pārīkshitā'bhavan?*"

"Whither have the Pārikshitas gone?" The solution of which, therefore, appears to have been looked upon as

extremely difficult. Yājñavalkya answers "Thither where all *Aśvamedha* sacrificers go."

The Pārikshitas are Janamejaya and his three brothers, *viz.*, Ugrasena, Bhīmasena and Srutasena (*Vedic Index*, I, p. 520). They are mentioned in the following passage of the *Mahābhārata* :—

Janamejayaḥ Pārīkshitaḥ saha bhrātṛibhiḥ Kurukshetre dīrghasatramupāste tasya bhrātarastrayah Śrutasena-Ugraseno Bhīmasena iti.

(Mbh., 1.3.1.)

The Great Epic represents them as grandchildren of Abhimanyu, a prominent figure in the Pāṇḍu story.

It seems probable from what has been stated above that the Rāma story in which Janaka and Aśvapati Kekaya are prominent figures could not have originated before the passing away of the Pārikshitas, *i.e.*, Janamejaya and his brothers. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that Janamejaya is mentioned as an ancient hero in the Rāmāyaṇa itself (*Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa*, 64.42)

Yāṁ gatiṁ Sagaraḥ Śaibyo Dilīpo Janamejayaḥ
Nahusho Dhundhumāraścha prāptāstāṁ gachchha putraka.

On the other hand it is distinctly stated in the *Mahābhārata* that the Pāṇḍu story was older than that of Janamejaya, and was in fact recited before Janamejaya by Vaiśampāyana. Indian tradition, both Hindu and Buddhist, is unanimous in representing the Pāṇḍus as an offshoot of the Kuru race.[1] It is, therefore, impossible to justify the distinction drawn by Hopkins between the original Kuru-Bhārata Epic and the so-called "Pāṇḍu story." Hopkins himself admits in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 253, that "A *Mahābhārata* without Pāṇḍus is like an

[1] *The Early History of the Vaishṇava Sect*, pp. 26-27.

Iliad without Achilles and Agamemnon; we know of no such poem."

The broad fact remains that while the *Bhārata* is mentioned in the *Gṛihya-sūtras* and the *Ashṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, there is no reference to the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Again, while the Pāṇḍu story is said to have been recited before Janamejaya, the Rāma story as given by Vālmīki, containing as it does references to Janaka and Aśvapati Kekaya, could not have originated before the passing away of the Pārikshitas, *i.e.*, Janamejaya and his brothers. There were, of course, many Janakas. But the synchronism of Janaka of the *Rāmāyaṇa* with Aśvapati, or the two Aśvapatis, father and brother of Kaīkeyî, probably suggest that Vālmîki had in his mind the famous Janaka of the Upanishads.

CHAPTER IV

ON A LOST UPAKHYANA OF THE MAHABHARATA

The *Âdi-parva* or the First Book of the *Mahābhārata* contains a verse which says that there was a *Bhārata-saṁhitā* which consisted of 24,000 *ślokas*, of which the *upākhyānas* or episodes did not form a part.

Chaturviṁśati sāhasrīm chakre Bhārata-saṁhitām
upākhyānair vinā tāvad Bhāratam prochyate budhaiḥ.

Mbh., I. i. 102.

But the Great Epic that has been extant since the days of Sarvanātha of the Khoh copperplate inscription of the Gupta year 214 (A.D. 533-34) is, as is well known, styled a *Śata-sāhasrî* [*Saṁhitā* and is interspersed with numerous *Upākhyānas*. Even so, the number of *ślokas* does not reach the total of 100,000 verses. As pointed out by Hopkins in his *Epic Mythology* (p. 2) the northern version contains 84,126 verses excluding the *Harivaṁśa*. The southern version has 12,000 more verses than the northern recension and, without the *Harivaṁśa*, contains 96,578 verses or prose equivalents.

Various theories have been suggested to account for the difference between the traditional number 100,000 and the number of *ślokas* in the extant versions of the Great Epic. According to some "the attribution of a lakh of verses necessarily implies the existence, as a part of the lakh, of the *Harivaṁśa*." But the addition of that work would make the total exceed the traditional number. This is particularly true of the southern recension. Others have urged that *śata-sahasra* is only a round number and is not to be taken too literally. But a third possibility cannot be entirely excluded, *viz.*, the loss or disappearance

of some *upākhyānas* which once formed part of the *śata-sāhasrī saṁhitā*. It was the addition of the *Upākhyānas* which transformed the original *chaturviṁśati-sāhasrī saṁhitā* into a *śata-sāhasrī saṁhitā*. Is there any certainty that all these added *Upākhyānas* have come down to us? A passage of the *Ghaṭotkaca-Vadha-Parvādhyāya* seems to suggest that such has not been the case.

When Ghaṭotkacha, the Rākṣhasa hero, son of Bhîmasena, fell down, struck by the terrible missile which Indra had given to Karṇa, and the Pāṇḍavas were plunged into grief, Kṛishṇa is represented as saying :

yadi hyenaṁ nāhanishyat Karṇaḥ śaktyā mahāmṛdhe
mayā badhyo'bhavishyat sa Bhaimasenir Ghaṭotkachaḥ
mayā na nihataḥ pūrvameva yushmat priyepsayā
esha hi Brāhmaṇa-dveshî yajña-dveshî cha Rākshasaḥ
dharmasya loptā pāpātmā tasmādesha nipātitaḥ.
Mbh., VII. 179. 25-27.

"If Karṇa had not slain this (Rākṣasha) by his *Śakti* in the great fight, then it would have been my duty to slay Ghaṭotkacha, son of Bhîmasena. It was to please you that I did not kill him before. This Rākshasa was a hater of Brāhmaṇas and sacrifices, a violator of religious rites and a sinner. Therefore has he been slain."

In the verses quoted above Ghaṭotkacha is described as *Brāhmaṇadveshî*, *yajña-dveshî* and *dharmasya loptā*. Now, there are no *Upākhyānas* in the extant epic which give countenance to the serious charges brought against the son of Bhîmasena. But it is clear that stories about Ghaṭotkacha's hostility to Brāhmaṇas and sacrifices must have been known to the writer of these verses. Is there any evidence as to the existence of such stories? Here light is vouchsafed from an unexpected quarter. In the *Madhyama-Vyāyoga*, one of the Trivandrum plays attributed (rightly or wrongly) to Bhāsa, we have the story of the pursuit of a

Brāhmaṇa and his wife and children by Ghaṭotkacha who had received orders from his mother to secure a person for her meal. The Sūtradhāra exclaims "*esha khalu Pāṇḍava-madhyamasyātmajo Hiḍimbārāṇī-sambhuto Rākshasāgnir-akṛtavairam Brāhmaṇa-janam vitrāsayati. Bhoḥ kashṭam kashṭam khalu patnî-suta-parivṛtasya Brāhmaṇasya vṛttāntaḥ.*

It should, however, be noted that the *Madhyama-Vyāyoga* itself could not have been in the mind of the poet or poets of the *Ghaṭotkach-vadha* section of the *Droṇa-parva* of the *Mahābhārata* when the verses referring to Ghaṭotkacha's misdeeds were written. In the epic the Pāṇḍava brothers are absolutely ignorant of Ghaṭotkacha's sins, while in the drama Bhîmasena was a personal witness of his son's reprehensible conduct towards Brāhmaṇas. Moreover, the epic ślokas refer not only to *Brāhmaṇa-dvesha* but also to *yajña-dvesha* and *dharma-lopa*, and the author must have had in his mind some *upākhyāna* or *upākhyānas* where Ghaṭotkacha is guilty of all these misdemeanours. That such *upākhyānas* did exist is suggested by the testimony of the author of the *Madhyama-Vyāyoga* who made use of one of them for dramatic purposes in the same way as Kālidāsa made use of the story of Śakuntalā, Kshemîśvara that of Nala, and Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa that of Draupadi's insults in the gambling scene of the Great Epic.

There remains another question—How to account for the omission of the stories from the extant *Mahābhārata*? We can only hazard a guess on this point. From the references to Vārshagaṇya (XII. 318. 59), the eighteen *Purāṇas* (XVIII. 6. 97), some of which treated of *anāgata* or future events (III. 191. 16) and the Huns (associated with the Persians—*Huṇāḥ Pārasikaih saha*, VI. 9. 66), in the Great epic, as it has come down to us, it is clear that its final redaction could not have taken place before the Gupta period. While the mention of the *śata-sāhasrî-*

saṁhitā in a Khoh Inscription of A.D. 533-34 shows that the complete epic must have come into existence before the final extinction of the Gupta power. The responsibility for the final redaction, therefore, probably rests with the poets of the Gupta period. The great dynasty of the Guptas, who claim to have revived the sacrificial rites that had been in abeyance for a long time, contained more than one king named Gaṭotkacha, and perhaps it was not to their liking that their name should have reminded of a hero who figured prominently in episodes of an anti-Brāhmaṇical and anti-sacrificial character.

The question may, however, be asked—if the *upākhyānas* were deliberately omitted, why were the verses in the *Droṇa-parva* about Ghaṭotkacha's sinful acts left unaltered? Here again, in seeking to answer this question, there is ample room for the play of conjecture. Was it due to religious reasons—the fear that omission from the *Kārshṇa-veda* (*i.e.*, the *Mahābhārata*) of anything springing from the mouth of Krishṇa would be considered by the *parama-bhāgavata* kings to be sacrilegious or was it due to oversight—the same carelessness which led to the retention of passages like *"Sākyach chhudhodano'bhavat,"* *"nṛpāye vai purātanāḥ"*[1] etc., even in the *prophetic* chapters of the *Purāṇas*?

PART II

GEOGRAPHY

8—16873

PART II

Geography

CHAPTER V

THE STUDY OF ANCIENT INDIAN GEOGRAPHY

For an intelligent study of the history of any country, a thorough knowledge of its geography is indispensable. It is impossible for the student to follow the course of events unless he has accurate information about the precise location of the various places which figure prominently in the narrative. Besides, no scientific historian of a country can overlook the immense influence which its physical features exercise over the character of its people and their political destiny. If the above remarks are applicable to modern history, they apply with still greater force to the ancient history of a country like India with its references to tribes, territories, rivers, mountains and cities whose names have long passed out of current use. Indeed, in the case of India it is not merely the political historian who finds a knowledge of geography to be absolutely essential. The student of social history who reads about the distinctive usages of *Udīchya*, *Śishṭa-deśa* and *Dakshiṇā-patha* in the *Dharma Sūtras* will find it difficult to follow the text unless he knows the exact signification of those terms. The student of literary history must learn to distinguish between *Gauḍa* and *Vidarbha*, *Mahārāshṭra* and *Śūrasena*, to name only a few provinces which gave their names to distinct styles of poetic composition and different kinds of popular speech. More than the political, social and literary historian, the student of religion and mythology will feel at every step the need of a thorough acquaintance with the divine rivers and mountains which

receive to this day the homage of the faithful, and those *Dharma-kshetras* and *Puṇya-sthānas* which even now attract pilgrims from the remotest corners of the country. A knowledge of space, no less than that of time, of geography no less than that of chronology, is an indispensable prerequisite of a serious historical study. It is, therefore, needless to emphasise the necessity of the study of the historical geography of Ancient India.

The original materials for the study of Ancient Indian Geography are supplied principally from the following sources :—

(1) Indigenous texts on geography.
(2) Incidental references extracted from Indian owrks of a non-geographical character.
(3) Inscriptions and coins.
(4) Foreign accounts.

(1) Independent Indian treatises dealing with geography are by no means common. A list of such works is given by Mr. S. N. Majumdar Śāstrī in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1921, p. 123. But they have not been sufficiently examined and it is difficult to say how many of them may be accepted as genuine. Compositions of a geographical character are, however, not unoften found embedded in the religious, legendary and astrological literature of Ancient India. One of the earliest and most remarkable compositions of this type is the famous river hymn of the *Ṛigveda* (x. 75). No less remarkable are the sections of the *Atharvaveda* (xix. 17. 1-9) and the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (viii. 14) referring to the five-fold division of India. Fuller details are given in the two great epics, each of which contains a number of chapters which give a fairly accurate description of India with its territorial divisions. In the Rāmāyaṇic account, for instance, of the search parties of monkeys sent in quest of Sītā, given in four cantos

(40-43) of the *Kishkindhyā kāṇḍa*, we have a detailed survey of the tribes, rivers, towns and hermitages of the five great regions of India. In the *Dig-vijaya* and *Tīrthayātrā* sections of the sister epic we have details of a similar character. More professedly geographical are the *Jambu-khaṇḍa-vinirmāṇa Parva* (Mbh., vi, 5-9) of the *Mahābhārata* and the corresponding sections of the *Purāṇas* and the *Kāvya-mīmāṁsā* styled *Jambudvīpa-varṇana*, *Bhuvana-kośa* or *Bhuvana-vinyāsa* and *Deśa-vibhāga*. Of the same type but of inferior value, is the *Kūrma-vibhāga* or *Kūrma-niveśa* section of Purāṇic and astrological works like the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (ch. 58), the *Bṛihat Saṁhitā* and the *Parāśara Tantra*.[1]

As pointed out by Pargiter[2] "there is plenty of the fabulous in Hindu geography, but it is confined, as a rule, to outside lands and the allusions to purely Indian topography are generally sober." The most serious difficulty in the way of utilising the Epic and Purāṇic accounts is the corruption of the texts. About a thousand years ago Alberuni complained (i. 238) "Such is the custom of the copyists and scribes in every nation. I cannot declare the students of the Purāṇas to be free from it, for they are not men of exact learning." The *Bṛihat Saṁhitā* is undoubtedly more free from textual corruption. The section called *Kūrma-vibhāga* correctly mentions *Mekalāmbashṭha* and *Puṇḍrotkala* while the corresponding passage of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* has *Mekhalāmushṭa* and *Purṇotkaṭa*. But, as pointed out by Fleet,[3] the *Kurma-vibhāga* list "does not furnish materials for preparing an accurate map of Ancient India. Mistakes in details can easily be shown, *e.g.*,

[1] *Cf.* also *Atharva Pariśishṭa* lvi.
[2] J. R. A. S., 1894, p. 231.
[3] I.A., 1893, 169f.

though Varāha-mihira places Kachchha and Girinagara both in the southern division, he locates Raivataka in the south-west; whereas this mountain is quite close to Girinagara (Junāgaḍh) and the Girnār mountain and is considerably to the south of Cutch.[1]"

Descriptions of India, and particularly of its central region, are also found in Buddhist literature. Of a slightly different character is the Jaina account of "Milikka" and "Āriya" lands found in the *Pannavanā* and other *Upāṅgas* (*cf.* also the Mārkaṇḍeya passage 57, 15. "*Tair vimiśrā janapadā mlechchhāś chāryāś cha bhāgaśaḥ*"). The *Loka vibhāga* and the name of the sixth *Upāṅga* called *Jambuddvi vapannatti,* however, remind us of the *Deśa-vibhāga* and the *Jambudvīpavarṇana* of the Brāhmaṇical texts.

(2) Besides long texts of a decidedly geographical character, Indian literature, both religious and secular, contains numerous isolated references to countries and cities, rivers and mountains, forests and deserts "which collectively amount to a considerable addition to geographical knowledge."[1] Of special value are the references in the Jātakas, Vinaya texts, the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, the *Sutta Nipāta*, the *Mahāgovinda Suttanta*, the *Dhammapada* commentary, the *Paramatthajotikā*, the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Mahāvastu*, the Jaina *Sūtras*, the early Tamil poems, the grammatical works of Pāṇini, Patañjali and Kramadîśvara, the *Kāvyas* of Kālidāsa and Daṇḍin, the *Dharmasūtra* of Bodhāyana, the *Dharmaśāstra* of Manu, the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, the *Kāmaśāstra* of Vātsyāyana with its commentary, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, the *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi* of Bhāskara, Vyāsa's commentary on the *Yogasūtras* of Patañjali and the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa. Important information is also given in lexicographies like the *Amara-kosha*, the *Abhidhāna-chintāmaṇi* and the *Abhidhānappadîpikā*.

(3) Inscriptions and coins constitute the third class of materials for ancient Indian geography. They are hardly less important to the student of Indian geography than to the student of Indian history. They not only afford us glimpses of the historical map of India in definite epochs, but supplement the information and advance the knowledge derived from literary sources. Who would ever have heard of the kingdoms of Satiyaputra and Ḍavāka, and the province of Vāraka-maṇḍala, but for the inscriptions of Aśoka and Samudra-Gupta and the copper-plate grants of Dharmāditya, Gopachandra and Samāchāradeva? Who would, again, have perceived the intimate connection between the city of Madhyamikā and the country of the Sibis but for certain coins discovered near Chitor?

(4) We now turn to the fourth and last class of materials, *viz.*, foreign accounts. Valuable information about India is given by the numerous travellers, historians, geographers and even rulers of foreign nationalities. The name Hindu (Hidu) for instance is first met with in an inscription of a foreign potentate whose dominions extended from the Indus to the Ægean. If we omit the obscure references to Ophir and Sophir (Sovīra or Sauvīra?) in the Bible, the Persians are the earliest foreign people to leave an account of India. Mention is made of this country and some of its rivers and provinces in the Avestā and the inscriptions of Darius, the potentate to whom we have just referred.

The next foreign people who wrote about India are the Greeks. Writers of this nationality are valuable guides for a period covering about seven centuries from the time of Hekataios to that of Klaudios Ptolemaios. The officers of Alexander and his Seleukidan successors in particular have done much to illumine the darkness enveloping the ancient geography of Northern India, and particularly of the Land of the Five Rivers, the scene of the exploits of 'Philip's

warlike son' and his Syrian and Bactrian successors. The Romans and their Greek subjects in Egypt who navigated the Indian ocean and maintained commercial or diplomatic relations with this country in the early centuries of the Christian era, throw much light on the topography of the western seaboard and the land of pepper, pearls and beryls in the Far South. The most valuable additions to our knowledge are made by the author of the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* and the Christian monk of Alexandria who bore the name of Kosmos Indikopleustes. The store of information gathered by the mariners of the period wa evidently utilised by Strabo, Pliny and the compiler of the Peutingerian Tables.

But it is to the Chinese pilgrims, and particularly to Fa-Hien, Song-yun, Yuan Chwang and I-tsing, that we are indebted for the most detailed information about the historic sites of the Indian interior and the countries under its cultural sway. It is a just observation of Cunningham that the pilgrimage of Yuan Chwang "forms an epoch of as much interest and importance for the ancient history and geography of India, as the expedition of Alexander the Great."

The last notable Chinese pilgrim to visit India was U-kong[1] who travelled in the eighth century. It is fortunate that at the time when the light from the Chinese records began to fail, light was vouchsafed from another source, *viz.*, the narrative of Muslim writers. Almost every Muslim observer from Sulaiman to Abul Fazl has something interesting to say about the topography of ancient (and not merely of mediæval) India. The greatest of the Islamic writers is perhaps Alberuni whose *Tahkik-i-Hind* was written in 1030 A.D. The account of Alberuni is valuable not only because it embodies the personal observations of an

[1] Or Ou-K'ong, *Cal. Rev.*, Aug. 1922, p. 188f.

intelligent foreigner who actually visited this country, but also because it affords us a glimpse into the geographical texts of the Purāṇas available to him, which had already undergone much corruption in his day, *i.e.*, as early as the eleventh century A.D.

The accounts of Muslim writers are supplemented by the records of mediæval European authors like Marco Polo. The Tibetan chroniclers (*cf.* Antiquities of Indian Tibet, p. 64) give little geographical information about the Indian interior that is not available elsewhere.

The known date of most of the foreign writers makes their evidence particularly interesting, and enables the geographer to note the changes in the map of India from age to age. The most serious defect of the non-Indian accounts is the distortion of names due either to the mis-hearing of the Indian sounds or the various transcriptions through which they have come down to us, which makes the work of identification particularly difficult. Another short-coming which is most noticeable in the work of Klaudios Ptolemaios is the distortion of the shape of India. But this blemish must be shared by those indigenous writers who likened India to a lotus flower or compared its shape to that of a *Kūrma* or tortoise.

A list of pioneers in the field of ancient Indian geographical studies is given by Mr. S. N. Majumdar Śāstrī in his edition of Cunningham's great work (pp. xvii f.). The following names deserve to be added to the list :—

Edward Thomas, Weber, Bühler, Burgess, Abbott, Holdich, Fleet, Oldham, Rhys Davids, Gerini, Stein, S. Lévi, Foucher, Hultzsch, Kanakasabhai Pillay, Menon, A. Barua, Nobin Chandra Das and Manomohan Chakravarti.

CHAPTER VI

Geographical Literature in Sanskrit

As early as the Vedic Age the earth, its rivers, mountains and even forests had been objects of interest and adoration. "Earth is our mother" says the *Atharva Veda*.

> *"Not overcrowded by the crowd of Manu's sons*
> *She who hath many heights and floods and level plains*
> *She who bears plants endowed with many varied powers*
> *In whom the sea, and Sindhu, and the waters*
> *In whom our food and corn lands have their being*
> *The varied home of bird and kine and horses*
> *Thine Pṛithivī are the five human races."*

The *Ṛigveda* contains a famous river-hymn and a chant addressed to the forest (*araṇyāni*). The Himavat and some of its peaks, notably Mūjavat, are familiar to the poets.

Some of the later ideas about cosmography seem to have had their roots in Vedic belief. The ocean is described in an early text as seven-rooted (*saptabudhnan arṇavam*). In later texts the view that the earth is surrounded by the sea finds mention. We have also reference to Mahāmeru, the central mount of gold in post-Vedic mythology.

It is however noticeable that geography is not one of the subjects mentioned in the lists of *Vidyās*, or branches of knowledge, to which reference is made in Vedic works, unless we imagine that *Bhū-vidyā*, science of the earth, was included under *Bhūta-vidyā*, science of the elements.

The first professedly geographical treatises in Sanskrit literature belong to the period of the epics. The

Bhīshma Parva of the *Mahābhārata* includes a *Jambu-khaṇḍa--vinirmāṇa parva* where we have "the names of rivers and of mountains, of countries and all other things that rest on the earth."

नदीनां पर्वतानां च नामधेयानि सर्वशः ।
तथा जनपदानां च ये चान्ये भूमिमाश्रिताः ॥

The treatise embodies belief in seven concentric island-continents (*saptadvīpa*) sub-divided into sub-continents styled *varsha*. These are marked off from one another by ranges of mountains styled *varsha-parvata*. Meru, the central mountain is said to be made of gold (*kanaka parvata*).

The southern and most important *varsha*, Bhārata, our own country, has seven chief mountain chains (*kula parvatas*) besides thousands of contiguous hills "not fully explored, rich in substance, large in size and picturesque with their ridges." We have also an enumeration of the sacred streams of the *varsha* whose water is drunk by both Aryans and barbarians (*mlechchhas*). We have next a description of the *janapadas*, *i.e.*, districts or tribal areas which were to be found in various directions of the sub-continent.

The date of the *Jambu-khaṇḍa-vinirmāṇa parva* is uncertain. It forms part of an epic which reached its present bulk in the fifth century A.D. at the latest. The reference in connection with the *janapadas* of Sakas, Chīnas, Pārasīkas, Maga-Brāhmaṇas and the Hūnas suggests a date not earlier than the Gupta Age. But there is no reference to Siṁhala or Mahārāshṭra, names that are first met with clearly or in a corrupt form in the second and fourth centuries A.D. respectively.

Whatever be the exact date of the composition, the ideas of cosmography to which it bears witness must

[1] *Cf.* also Mbh., I, 165. 6, कथयामास देशांश्च तीर्थानि सरितस्तथा ।

have been in existence before the Christian era. The earth with its seven island-continents (*saptadvīpā vasumatī*) is mentioned in the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali. The *Mahābhāshya* is usually assigned to the Baimbika-Śuṅga Age. But the evidence adduced in support of this view is not quite convincing. The passages referring to Pushyamitra and the Greek invasions may have been taken as traditional illustrations by Patañjali from *preceding* grammarians some of whom may have been contemporaries of Pushyamitra. It is, however, probable that the *Mahābhāshya* existed before the *Uttara Kāṇḍa* (Ch. 41. 44.-45) of the *Rāmayaṇa*. An epic hero is described there as proficient in grammar including *sūtras* (aphorisms), the *vṛitti* (gloss) the *arthapada* (commentary) and the *śaṁgraha* (compendium). Knowledge of the work of Patañjali is said to have spread to Kashmir immediately after Huvishka and Kanishka, the well known Kushāna kings of the second century A.D., through the efforts of Chandrāchārya. We shall not be far wrong if we place the Mahābhāshya between 150 B.C. and 100 A.D.

The most important of the *dvīpas*, Jambudvīpa, the island-continent of which Bhārata-varsha constitutes the southern part, is expressly mentioned by Aśoka, the Maurya emperor, in the third century B.C. Bhārata-varsha itself in the opinion of certain epigraphists finds mention in the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela (possibly of the first century B.C.).

The *Jambu-Khanda* refers, besides the island-continents, sub-continents, mountains, rivers and countries, to seas of salt, *Maṇḍa* (the thick oily matter or scum on the surface of any liquid), wine, clarified butter, curd, milk and sweet water. Curiously enough Dion Chrysostom, a Greek orator, who was born at Pusa in Mysia about the middle of the first century A.D., alludes to expanses of water in the country of the Indians that "flow not like

those of the land of the Phrygians with water, but one stream with pellucid wine, another with honey, another with oil." As the same writer mentions an epic sung by the Indians that shows acquaintance with "the woes of Priam, the weeping, and wailing of Andromache and Hecuba, and the heroic feats of Archilles and Hector'"[1] it is not improbable that he had actually heard of the *Mahābhārata*—the lamentation of Dhritarāshṭra, the agony of Gāndhārī and other royal ladies who lost their beloved ones in the terrible fight at Kurukshetra, and the deeds of valour that have rendered the names of Arjuna and Karṇa, Bhīshma and Droṇa and a host of lesser warriors immortal. If Dion Chrysostom really knew the *Mahābhārata*, the epic in his days may have included the *Jambu-Khaṇḍa* section where we have references to the seas of wine, milk, etc. It is, however, possible that the Greek orator derived his information not from the epic but from some Purāṇic or other texts.

Certain passages of the Great Epic show a knowledge of cosmography which is far in advance of that of the *Jambu-khaṇḍa*. Thus while the *Jambu-Parva* speaks of island-continents as numbering seven, the *Yayāti Upākhyāna* raises the number to thirteen, while the commentator puts the figure at eighteen. The *Mahābhārata*, however, betrays no knowledge of the islands of Sumatra (Suvarṇadvīpa) and Java (Yava) which find mention in the *Kishkindhyā Kāṇḍa* (Ch. 40. 30) of the *Rāmāyaṇa* :—

Yavadvīpam saptarājyopaśobhitam[2]
Suvarṇa Rūpyakadvīpam suvarṇākaramaṇḍitam

[1] M'Crindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, pp. 175, 177.

[2] The "seven" kings of Java are also mentioned by later writers (Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, I. 325.

It is clear that the *Kishkindhyā Kāṇḍa* had access to geographical compositions or mariners' charts of which the epic writer of the *Jambu-Khaṇḍa-Vinirmāṇa Parva* had no knowledge. The *Mahābhārata* poets, however, made full use of ballads of knightly adventure and pilgrims' guide-books in the *Digvijaya* (conquest of the quarters) and the *Tīrtha-Yātrā* (journeys to holy places) sections. The topographical information contained in these parts of the epic is considerable. It is to conquering heroes, pious pilgrims, enterprising missionaries and adventurous merchants that we owe a good deal of geographical data contained in the epics. Of particular interest is the mention in the seventeenth book of the *Mahābhārata* of the *Bālukārṇava* (sea of sand), apparently the desert of Gobi beyond the Himālayas in the north and of the *Uttaraḥ Payasāṁ nidhiḥ* (the Arctic Ocean) in the *Kiskindhyā Kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

"*Where springing from the billows high*
Mount Somagiri seeks the sky
And lightens with perpetual glow
The sunless realm that lies below."

The passage "*sa tu deśo visūryópi tasya bhāsā prakāśate*" has been taken by scholars to refer to the *Aurora Borealis*. The greater epic has a parallel passage in the *Jambū Khaṇḍa*.

"There dwells the self-luminous goddess Śāṇḍilī. North of the *Sṛiṅga* mountain on the borders of the sea lies the *varsha* named *Airāvata*. The sun does not shine there."

Tatra svayaṁprabhā devī nityam vasati Śāṇḍilī
Uttareṇa tu Śṛiṅgasya samudrānte janādhipa
Varsham Airāvatam nāma . . . . ,
Na tatra sūryastapati . . . ."

Of a somewhat later date than the geographical cantos of the two ancient epics is the *Bhuvanavinyāsa* (disposition of the earth) or *Bhuvana-kosha* (earth-receptacle) section of the principal *Purāṇas*. The posteriority of the *Bhuvana-vinyāsa* and the *Bhuvana-kosha* to the epic appears not only from the more systematic and stereotyped treatment of the subject, but also from references to several *janapadas* (countries or districts) and *pathas* (extraordinary routes) of which neither the *Jambū Parva* nor the *Kishkindhā Kāṇḍa* betrays any knowledge.

Purāṇic geography takes note of the earth, and its seven concentric island-continents, particularly the Jambu dvīpa. This huge territory is said to be shaped like a lotus with mount Meru as its pericarp and the outlying *varshas* or sub-continents as its petals. It is low on the south and north and highly elevated in the middle. It is entirely surrounded by the sea of salt. We have next an account of forests, lakes and mountains and the course of the sacred Ganges in the sky and on the earth. The Purāṇic texts next proceed to give an account of the *Navabheda of Bhārata-varsha*, that is the division of India into nine "insular" parts, the seven principal mountain ranges (*kula parvata*), and scattered hills, and the sacred streams classified according to their sources. We have next an enumeration of the *janapadas* (countries, districts or tribal areas) included within the seven natural divisions of India and the lands in its immediate neighbourhood. The seven divisions include the middle country, *i.e.*, the *Madhya-deśa*, the four areas lying to its north, east, south and west as well as the country around the Vindhyas and the tract sheltered by the Himālayas.

Besides Ceylon which is included among the nine insular parts (*navabheda*) of India, the text in some of the Purāṇas makes mention of six other islands including Yama (apparently a scribe's error for Yava) *dvīpa* (Java) and

Malayadvīpa. But the most notable addition to our stock of knowledge is furnished by the references to extraordinary routes styled *khara-patha* (asses' path), *vetra-patha* (cane path) and *sanku-patha* (spike path). These difficult *pathas* as noted by previous writers receive more detailed notice in certain Buddhist texts. They are also known to Alberuni.

A distinguishing feature of the Purāṇic cantos on geography is the eulogy of "the charming country watered by the Godāvarī that lies on the north of the *Sahya* (Western Ghats) where stands the beautiful city of Govardhana (Nāsik). It is not an improbable hypothesis that the geographical composition which is incorporated with the Purāṇas as the *Bhuvana-vinyāsa* or *Bhuvana kosha* was actually written or redacted in this region.

Some of the Purāṇa texts, notably the *Kumārikā-khaṇḍa* of the *Māheśvara* section of the *Skanda Purāṇa* add details about Indian topography which are far in advance of that contained in the *Bhuvana-kosha*. We have reference to the Raṭṭa country consisting of seven lakhs of villages and to Gurjaratrā that is the land of the Gurjaras in northern and western India. The additional information furnished by the *Kumārikā-khaṇḍa* makes it clear that it could not have been compiled before the days of Gurjara and Rāshtrakūṭa supremacy, that is the eighth or ninth century A.D.

Astrologers prepared special topographical lists to which they gave the name of *Kūrma-vibhāga* (divisions of the globe supposed to be shaped like a tortoise), or *Kūrma-niveśa* (the tortoise-abode). One such composition is included in the *Atharva Pariśishṭa*, another in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, a third in the *Parāśara Tantra* and a fourth in the *Bṛihat Saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira (Sixth century A.D). Treatises of a geographical character are also found incorporated with the *Sūryasiddhānta*, the commentary on

the *Yogasūtras* of Patañjali, and the *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi* of Bhāskara.

The *Kūrma-vibhāga* cannot in all probability be assigned to a period earlier than the fourth century A.D. This inference follows from references to Kāmarūpa (in the *Atharva Pariśishṭa*), to Vardhamāna and to Mahārāshṭra (in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*) which are unknown to literature or inscriptions of an earlier epoch.

The world as known to the *Kūrma-vibhāga* and the *Kūrma-niveśa* is represented as resting upon Vishṇu in the form of a tortoise with its head to the east. It is divided into nine parts each of which is assigned to a triad of *nakshatras* (lunar mansions or constellations). Peoples and countries are enumerated with the corresponding *nakshatras* as they were distributed over the various parts of the tortoise's body, starting with the middle region and then running round the compass from the east to the north-east. The special object of this mode of division is to determine what *janapadas*, countries or districts, suffer disaster when the respective lunar mansions with which they are associated are harassed by malignant planets.

As pointed out by Fleet the topographical list of the *Kūrma-vibhāga* does not furnish materials for preparing an accurate map of ancient India. There are errors in detail due in large measure to the futile attempt of making the shape of India conform to that of a tortoise. Another difficulty which the astrologers' list shares with the *Jambu Parva* and the *Bhuvana kosha* is the corruption of texts already noted by Al-Beruni in the eleventh century, A.D. There is, moreover, plenty of the fabulous in ancient Indian geography. The sea of milk, for example is as conspicuous in the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* as in the epic and the *Purāṇas*.

Besides treatises of a professedly geographical character embedded in the early epic, the *Purāṇas*, and astrological works, Sanskrit literature on law, polity, erotics,

dramaturgy, poetics, lexicography, sectarian ritul and mythology as well as the classical *kāvya*, epical, lyrical, and historical, literary and epigraphic, contains passages that collectively amount to a considerable addition to our stock of knowledge.

The legal codes sometimes divided India into cultural and ethnic belts which were regarded with different degrees of esteem. The holiest of these was *Brahmāvarta* which lay between the Sarasvatī and the Drishadvatī in the eastern Pañjāb. The land of the sages (*Brahmarshideśa*), inhabited by the Kurus, Pañchālas and some neighbouring peoples, comes next in point of sanctity. Then we have a definition of the Middle country (*Madhya-deśa*) and the proper home of the Aryans (*Āryāvarta*) beyond which stretched the land of impure barbarians (*mlechchhas*).

The literature on polity (*Arthaśāstra*) groups countries mainly according to their flora, fauna and mineral and industrial products. The silk and cotton fabrics of northern and eastern Bengal receive special notice. The treatises on erotics refer to special characteristics of women inhabiting particular provinces, districts and cities. The *Nāṭya śāstra* (ch. 14 and 18) adopts popular traits and languages as the basis for the distribution of countries and peoples. It expressly indicates its indebtedness to the *Purāṇas* (ch. 14. 46) and the *Kāmasūtra* (ch. 24.142). The *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* of Rājaśekhara (900 A.D.) has a chapter on the divisions of the country (*deśa-vibhāga*), which shows a detailed knowledge of the five regions of India, namely the *Pūrva deśa* east of Benares, *Dakshiṇāpatha* or the Deccan south of the Nerbudda, *Paśchātdeśa* stretching westwards from mount Abu, *Uttarāpatha* beyond Pehoa in the eastern Pañjāb and the *Madhyadeśa* that included the Gangetic Doab (*Antarvedī*). While the *Bhuvanakosha* of the older *Purāṇas* refers to the ninth insular division (*navamadvīpa*) of India simply as "the ninth island en-

compassed by the sea", Rājaśekhera gives the specific name *Kumarīdvīpa*. The *Skanda Purāṇa* refers to the same territory as *Kaumārika khaṇḍa*. The name possibly survives in that of Cape Comorin in the extreme south of India.

The lexicographers, notably Amara and Hemachandra, have a *Bhūmi-Varga* or *Bhūmi-Kāṇḍa*, which is of considerable help in identifying countries and cities and explaining geographical terms.

Valuable information regarding territorial divisions is also given in *Tantra* literature and the sacred writings of Buddhists and Jains. The *Śakti-saṅgama-Tantra*, the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Lokavibhāga* deserve special mention in this connection. Geographical information is also obtainable from non-Brāhmaṇical texts that are written in Pāli or Prākrit.

The classical *Kāvya*, both epigraphic and literary, contains accounts of the triumphal march of conquering kings, choice of consorts by high-born maids, wanderings of love-lorn princes or voyages of enterprising merchants. They give interesting glimpses of India, its provinces and neighbouring peoples as known to the authors. The works of Harishena, Kālidāsa, Daṇḍin, Somadeva, Kalhaṇa, Dhoyi and Śri-Harsha deserve special mention in this connection. Advantage is taken not only of the march of armies and voyage of mariners but also of the progress of an aerial car, the movement of fleeting clouds or the blowing of the southern breeze to display the poet's knowledge of prosperous countries, of stately cities, of flourishing villages, of majestic ridges, of meandering rivers, of sequestered ravines and of many a plain carpeted with green.

In view of the interest taken by Sanskrit poets and theologians, jurists and philosophers, sociologists and astrologers, statesmen and mathematicians in the topography of India and some of the neighbouring countries,

islands and seas, one cannot but express surprise at the paucity of independent dissertations on the subject. Most of the compositions we have described above now form parts of bigger works. It is however not impossible that the *Jambu Parva*, the *Bhuvanakosha* and the *Kūrma-vibhāga* were based on originals that existed as separate *treatises*. A list of fourteen independent works treating of geography has been given by the late S. N. Majumdar Śāstrī in his revised edition of Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, but they have not been sufficiently examined and it is difficult to say how many of them may be accepted as genuine. The Jains have a work styled the *Lokavibhāga* which deals with cosmography. It is said to have been composed in A.D. 458. It is perhaps the earliest indigenous work on the subject to which a *definite* date may be assigned. To a much later date belong the *Satruñjaya Mahātmya* of the Jains and the *Digvijaya Prakāśa* of the Hindus. The former deals with the topography of a part of Gujarāṭ. The latter, apparently a work of mediaeval origin, gives valuable information about the territorial divisions of Bengal during the last few centuries.

CHAPTER VII

ARYAN OCCUPATION OF INDIA

Indian tradition preserves distinct memories of an earlier home of the Aryans. Thus in the *Ṛig Veda*, i. 30. 9, a worshipper invokes from his "ancient dwelling place," *Pratnasyaukash*, the god Indra whom his father formerly invoked. We are also told [1] that *Yadu* and *Turvaśa* were brought by Indra from a distant land, and the former is in one passage,[2] brought into special relation with *Parśu* (*cf.* Persia). Allusions to tribes and rivers of Irān have been traced in several hymns of the *Ṛik Saṁhita*. Hillebrandt, for instance, sees in the Dāsas the Dahæ, and in the Paṇis the Parnians. He finds in the Sarasvatî the Irānian Harahvaitî, identifies the Hariyūpîyā with the river Iryāb or Haliāb and thinks that the Yavyāvatî is the Djob. References to Irān have also been seen in the names Ishṭāśva[3] (Hystaspes) and Tirindira[4] (*cf.* Tiridates). Post-Vedic tradition indicates that the *Ailas*—a powerful body of Aryans—entered India from the Oxus Valley, from *Bālhi* or *Balhika*, according to the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[5] This country, it should be noted, finds prominent mention in one of the early Vedic texts, *viz.*, the *Atharva Samhitā* (v. 22, 5. 7, 9). The *Papañchasūdani*[6] refers to the establishment of the Kuru Kingdom by a body of colonists from *Uttara-Kuru*, a trans-Himalayan realm known to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, the customs of which are quoted for guidance by a Kuru

[1] i. 36. 18 ; vi. 45. 1.

[2] viii. 6. 46.

[3] i. 122. 13.

[4] viii. 6. 46.

[5] Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, 254, 299.

[6] Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, p. 16.

king in the *Mahābhārata* (Ādi, 122. 7). Whatever we may think of Hillebrandt's suggestions, it is abundantly clear that the horizon of the early Indo-Aryans extended beyond the limits of India and encompassed the plateau of Irān and the tableland of Central Asia. Memories of an ancestral connection with these territories had not faded even in the epic period. But Persia, Bactria and Uttara-Kuru have not yielded the earliest historical traces of Indra-worshipping Aryans. They were probably merely intermediate stages in the Aryan advance towards India. For a still earlier home— for the earliest *historical* notice of Indra-worshipping Aryans—we should perhaps turn to the regions near and beyond the Zagros mountains. An early association of the Indo-Aryans with these regions has been inferred by Tilak and others from words and names like Manā (*Ṛig*. viii. 78. 2), Taimāta (*Atharva* V. 18. 4), Urugulā (*Atharva* V. 13. 8), Yahva (*Rig*. iii. 1. 12 ; iv. 75. 1 ; x. 110. 3), as well as from the legend of the flood in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Recent excavations have disclosed actual traces of a people with Indo-Aryan affinities who lived in Western Asia in the second millennium B.C. The Boghaz- Koi or Boghaz Keui Inscriptions reveal the names of their principal deties, *Mitra*, *Varuṇa*, *Indra* and the heavenly twins, the *Nāsatyas*. The discovery of the name of Indra is of special significance in view of the Ṛig Vedic verses (i. 30.9 ; vi 45. 1) referred to above. Numerals have also been discovered, which are distinctly Indo-Aryan in form. Thus, the form for 1 is *aika-* in a compound, for 3 *teras*, for 5 *panza*, for 7 *satta-*, and for 9 *nāv*.[1] To the same period as the Boghaz Koi inscriptions belong the famous letters from Tel-el-Amarna. In these occur references to Mesopotamian princes bearing names like *Artatama*, *Tusratta* (*cf*.

[1] *The Cambridge Ancient History, ii. 13 ; Childe, Aryans, 19.*

Daśaratha or Duhratha) and *Suttarna*. In Palestine we come across such names as *Biridashwa* (Sk. *Bṛihadaśva*), *Yashdata* (Yazdāta) and *Shuwardata* (Sk. Sūryadatta). In Babylonia, too, among Kassite princes and deities, we find names like *Maruttash* (Sk. Marut, the wind-god), *Shîmalia*, the "lady of the bright mountains" (*cf*. Himālaya), or *Sumālyā* according to some, *Dakash*, "star" (*cf*. *Daksha*, the parent of the Nakshatras of Hindu mythology), and *Shuriyas* "sun" (Sk. *sūrya*).[1]

It is not known for certain when the Aryans first came to North-West India, or rather the Land of the Seven Rivers, *Sapta-Sindhavas* or *Hapta Hindu* as it is called in the *Ṛigveda* and the Avestan Vendidad. But their occupation of the country must have taken place at least as early as 1400 B. C.[2]

It seems that the newcomers were at first confined to the Land of the Seven Rivers (including the Sarasvatî. Ṛig. V., vii. 36. 6) and were divided into five tribes.[3] But before the close of the *Ṛigvedic period* they had spread over a vast expanse of territory extending from Eastern Afghanistān to the basin of the Upper Ganges. They had even heard of distant non-Aryan peoples like the *Kîkaṭas* (of Magadha), and of distant non-Aryan strongholds like *Urjayantî* (Ṛig. ii. 13. 8; *cf*. Urjjayanta or the Girnār Hill).

The Aryan occupation of Eastern Kābulistān is proved by the mention of the rivers *Kubhā* (Kābul), *Suvāstu* (Swāt), *Mehatnu*, *Krumu* (Kurram), and

[1] *Cambridge Ancient History*, 1, 312, 553. The possible identity of *Dakash* with *Daksha* was suggested by us for the first time in *Cal. Rev.*, 1926, Oct. 124.

[2] See *Cal. Rev.*, 1924, Oct., pp. 67-77.

[3] Pañcha Kshiti, Pañcha Jana, Pañcha Mānusha, Pañcha Kṛishṭi, Pañcha Charshani.

Gomatî (Gumal), as well as tribes like the *Pakthas* (Pakthūn) and the *Gandhāris* (of the Peshāwar District). Farther east, the Ṛig Vedic people occupied almost the whole of the Pañjāb watered by the *Sindhu* (Indus) and its famous tributaries, the *Sushomā* (Sohān), the *Ārjîkiyā* (probably the Kansi), the *Vitastā* (Jhelum), the *Asiknī* (Chināb), the *Parushṇî* (Rāvi), the *Vipāś* (Bias) and the *Śutudri* (Sutlej). Tribes like the Pūrus and the Śivas occupied the country as late as the time of Alexander. In the north the Aryans held a part at least of the secluded vale of Kaśmîra and in the hymns we find mention of the small Kaśmîrian stream, the *Marudvṛidhā* (Maruwardwan), which flows from north to south and joins the Chināb on its northern bank at Kashtwār (Kistawar).

In the east the Ṛig Vedic Aryans had certainly conquered the fertile plains of Sirhind and Thanesar and reached the holy waters of the Jumna and the Ganges,[1] while adventurers appear to have pushed as far as the banks of the *Sarayu*.[2] The occupation of a part at least of the *Madhyadeśa* appears certain not only from the mention of lakes like Śaryanāvant, and streams like the Sarasvatī,[3] the Āpayā, the Dṛishadvatî, the Yamunā, the Gaṅgā, the Gomatî (which flowed past the dwelling of the Dālbhyas) and the Sarayu, but also from the mention of well-known *Madhya-*

[1] See the reference to the Gaṅgā in Ṛig. x. 75. 5, and vi. 45. 31 *Cf.* also Jahnāvī, i. 116. 19, iii. 58. 6. Scholars who build weighty theories on the paucity of references to the Ganges should remember that in the Yajus and Atharva Saṁhitās it is *not mentioned* at all.

[2] See *Calc. Rev.*, Oct., 1924, pp. 74, 76, for its identification as well as that of the Gomatî in the Madhyadeśa.

[3] All the important epithets of the Ṛig Vedic Sarasvatî are found in connection with the epic river of the same name. *Cf.* Mbh. xiii. 146. 17f.

एषा सरस्वती पुण्या नदीनामुत्तमा नदी
प्रथमा सर्व्वसरितां नदी सागरगामिनी ॥

deśa tribes and clans like the *Ruśamas, Uśīnaras, Dālbhyas, Sṛiñjayas, Matsyas, Chedis,* and *Ikshvākus.*[1] Some scholars find references even to the *Kurus* and the *Pañchālas* (*Krivis*). It may, of course, be argued that some of these rivers and tribes are to be located in the Western Pañjāb or even in Irān. But such arguments have seldom been supported by cogent proofs. Due weight has rarely been given to the testimony of the Epics and Purāṇas which has been lightly brushed aside even when there is no strong evidence to the contrary in the Vedas themselves.

In the south, Ṛigvedic poets refer to a region called the Dakshiṇapadā. The exact signification of this term is not known. But the absence of any reference to the mountains, rivers and tribes of Central and Southern India makes it unlikely that we have here the earliest historical notice of the Deccan Proper. An acquaintance with the desert of Rājputāna[2] is probably, however, suggested by the constant mention of *Dhanvan.*

[1] See my *Political History of Ancient India*, 1st ed., pp. 27, 28, 32, 49, 65; Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 401, 403.

[2] As to the theory of a "Rājputāna sea" into which the Vedic Sarasvatī is said to have emptied itself, which was propounded in comparatively recent times, we should note that the epithet *Sāgara-gāminī* is applied to the Sarasvatī even in the Epic period when, surely, there was no "Rājputāna sea". As to references to the four Samudras it should be remembered that "*Chatuḥ-Samudra,*" "*Chatvāraścha mahārṇavāḥ*" (Mbh. xiii. 150.27), "*Chaturdadhi*" are stock phrases of Sanskrit literature like the 'seven oceans' of Purāṇic mythology (*cf.*, *Saptabudhnam arṇavam, Ṛigveda,* viii. 40.5; also IA., 5, 17) and occur even in inscriptions of the Gupta and post-Gupta (IA., 3, 305) periods. The idea was originally derived from the four quarters of the sky. In the *Ṛigveda* (vi. 58. 3: X. 98. 12; 123. 2) we have clear references to the use of the term *Samudra* in the sense of *antarīksha* and *dyau. Cf.* Yāska's *Nirukta.* ii, 10: "*Ambaram Viyat Vyoma.........Samudraḥ.........*" The term *Samudra* was also applied to big rivers like the Ganges as late as the period of the *Jātaka* com-

With the exception of the territory defined above, the whole of India was occupied by non-Aryan tribes. These *Anāryas* are referred to under the general designation of *Dāsas* or *Dasyus*. We have also notices of specific tribes like the Simyus and the Kîkaṭas and probably also the *Ajas*, *Yakshus*, and *Sigrus*.

In the next **period**, *viz.*, that **of the Yajus and Atharva** Saṁhitās, and the earlier Brāhmaṇas, the Aryan occupation of the Gangetic Doāb is completed, and we hear for the first time of flourishing settlements in Central India, on the banks of the Varaṇāvatî, and even farther to the east. Central India was explored by tribes like the *Kuntis* and the *Vîtahavyas* who figure prominently in the later *saṁhitās* and are associated with the Malwan region in the period of the Great Epic. In the eastward expansion the lead was taken by two tribes, *viz.*, the Bharatas and the Videghas (Videhas). The former advanced along the Yamunā, and the latter across the Sarasvatî and the Sadānîrā (Rāpti or Gaṇḍak). The widening of the eastern horizon is synchronous with an intimate knowledge of the north, and the Bahlikas, Mahāvṛishas, Gandhāris and Mūjavats appear in the *Atharva Saṁhitā* side by side with the Kāśis, Magadhas and Aṅgas.

The later **Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upanishads** introduce us to a geographical area not much different from that of the later *Saṁhîtās* except in regard to a few particulars. The centre of Aryan civilisation now, as in the earlier epochs of the *Yajus* and the *Atharva*, is found to lie in the Ganges-Jumna region. But we now hear for the first time of the great *Dakshîṇa-parvata*, *i.e.*, the Vindhya (*Kaushîtaki*, ii. 8), and the vast territory beyond it, as well

mentary (*cf*. *Jātaka* No. 342). The "sweet water swelling up from the Samudra" (Rig. iv, 58.1) cannot refer to the saline water of the sea. Minhāj calls the Begmatî *Sumund i.e.*, ocean (Raverty, 561).

as the eastern region beyond the *Sadānīrā*, peopled by Dasyu tribes, but already partially occupied by the vanguards of Vedic civilisation. We have, moreover, a glimpse of India with its five-fold division :—the *Dhruvā-Madhyamā Pratishṭhā diś* (the Middle Quarter), the *Prāchī diś* (Eastern Quarter), the *Dakshiṇā diś* (Southern Quarter), the *Pratichī diś* (Western Quarter), and the *Udīchī diś* (Northern Quarter). The division is already anticipated by the *Atharva Saṁhitā* (xix. 17. 1-9), but for detailed information we must turn to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. In the *Dhruvā Madhyamā diś* lay the realms of the Kurus, the Pañchālas, the Vaśas and the Uśīnaras. The realms of Prāchī are not specifically named, but we learn from other sources that the following peoples existing in the Brāhmaṇa period belonged to that region, *viz.*, the Kosalas,[1] Kāśis,[2] Videhas, Magadhas and Aṅgas. Some scholars find a reference to the Vaṅgas in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, but the only people of the Far East of India mentioned distinctly in the later Vedic texts are the Puṇḍras. The most important peoples of the *Dakshiṇā diś* were the Nishadhas, the Satvats, governed by Bhoja kings, and their kinsmen, the Vaidarbhas of Berar.

The Aryan settlements in the South were surrounded by Dasyu tribes like the Andhras, Śavaras, Pulindas and Mūtibas.[3] About the peoples of Pratîchî, namely, the Nîchyas and the Apāchyas, we do not know much. The peoples of Udîchî mentioned specifically by the *Aitareya*

[1] The Kosalan capital (*Sāvatthi*) was included in the eastern region (*Puratthima Janapada*) as late as the time of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (Part I, p. 66). In the *Pratijñā-Pariśishṭa*, Kāmpilya is given as the eastern limit of the *Madhyadeśa* (Weber, *Ind. Lit.*, 115 n).

[2] Kāśi is excluded from the Madhyadeśa even by Manu who makes Prayāga the eastern boundary of that region. It is in comparatively recent times that this famous place came to be included within the Madhyadeśa as we learn from the *Kāvya-mîmāṁsā*

[3] See my *Political History of Ancient India*, 1st ed. pp. 44-45.

Brāhmaṇa are the Uttara-Kurus and the Uttara-Madras, who dwelt beyond the Himavat; but the Brāhmaṇa texts give us also names of many other tribes living to the north-west of the *Dhruvā Madhyamā diś* such as the Gandhāris, or Gandhāras, Kekayas, Madras and Ambashṭhas.[1]

The next **period—that of the Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist Sūtras**—was marked by a simultaneous advance in two directions, *viz.*, the west and the south. The boundaries of the Madhya-deśa were enlarged and mention is made of a number of new kingdoms in the west and the south. Moreover, it was in this epoch that the Hindus for the first time referred to a very famous people of antiquity, *viz.*, the Yavanas or the Greeks.[2]

The *Dhruvā Madhyamā diś*, then called Āryāvarta, the *Śishṭadeśa*, or Majjhima deśa, though still confined by some to the Gangetic Doāb, really embraced a wider area. The Himavat range and particularly the Uśînara Peak were still mentioned as the northern boundary, but the eastern frontier now reached the Kālakavana,[3] probably near Allahabad. The southern boundary was formed by the Pāriyātra, *i.e.*, the Western Vindhyas, and the western boundary by Adarśana and Thuna, both situated on the Sarasvatî. Beyond the western boundary of the Madhya-deśa, Aryan civilisation had spread as far as the Arabian Sea and we hear for the first time of western realms of mixed origin (*saṅkîrṇa-yonayaḥ*) like Avanti, Surāshṭra, Sindhu and Sauvîra.

In the south the Aryans had overstepped the limits of Vidarbha and spread as far as the Godāvarî. The terms

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 23-27, 131.

[2] The Romans (Romakas) and the Chinese (Chīnas) do not appear till the period of the epics the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, and the *Milinda-panho*.

[3] Cf. *Kalakārāma in Oudh or Añjanavana, vide* also IHQ 1928, 93.

Dakshiṇāpatha and Dākshiṇātya came into prominence and in the *suttas* and the epic the Godāvarî valley was dotted over with Aryan settlements like Pañchavaṭî, Janasthāna, Aśmaka and Mūlaka. The western and eastern sea-boards of the Deccan were also thoroughly explored. On the west coast rose the great ports of Bharukachchha and Śūrppāraka, while the vast region between the Amarkaṇṭaka range and the Bay of Bengal rapidly developed into the populous and powerful kingdom of Kaliṅga. Kaliṅga, however, does not seem to have been an Aryan Kingdom as it is branded as an impure country by Bodhāyana. The southerners observed several customs not approved by the people of the Madhyadeśa, *e.g.*, eating with the uninitiated and with one's own wife, taking stale food, and marrying the daughter of a *mātula* and *pitṛiśvashā*.

The whole of the vast territory to the east of Aṅga was still regarded as an impure country, but there was some difference of opinion between the Brāhmaṇists and Buddhists regarding the Aṅgas and the Magadhas. The Brāhmaṇical *sūtras* of Bodhāyana regarded them as outside the Madhyadeśa and called them "*saṅkīrṇa-yonayaḥ,*" the Buddhist *Vinaya* texts, on the other hand, included these peoples within the Madhyadeśa, which, according to them, extended as far as Kajaṅgala (the Rājamahal Hills). Regarding the regions which lay farther to the east, *viz.*, Puṇḍra, Suhma and Vaṅga, there is no such difference of opinion. The early Pāli canon rarely does the honour of mentioning them. The *Jaina Kalpa Sūtra* regards Rāḍha-Suhma as a savage tract. Bodhāyana recommends an expiatory sacrifice after a journey to the Puṇḍras and the Vaṅgas. Even Patañjali, who possibly flourished in the second century B.C., excludes the lower Ganges Valley from Āryāvarta which, according to him, lay to the west of Kālaka-vana.[1]

[1] Kielhorn's ed., i, 475.

It is not till we come to the *Manu-saṁhitā* that we find the eastern boundaries of Āryāvarta extended to the sea, *i.e.*, the Bay of Bengal. The first indubitable reference to Vaṅga including Tāmralipti) as an ' Āriya ' land occurs in a Jaina Upāṅga.[1] Prāgyotisha (Kāmarūpa or Assam) is entirely ignored in the Vedic texts and the early canon of the Jainas and the Buddhists. It first appears in the Epics, but even in the extant *Mahābhārata* its king Bhagadatta is represented as a leader of barbarian hordes (*Mbh.*, v. 19.15).

The northern region, hallowed by the songs of the *Ṛig-veda*, was no longer looked upon as a sacred clime and some of its peoples, *e.g.*, the Āraṭṭas, are placed on a level with the impure tribes of the east, *viz.*, the Puṇḍras and the Vaṅgas. The reason is perhaps to be found partly in the observance by the people of these tracts of practices abhorrent to Mid-Indian sentiment, such as dealing in wool, rum-drinking, selling animals that had teeth in the upper and in the lower jaws, following the trade of arms and going to sea, and partly in the influx of foreign intruders like the Persians and Yavanas.

In the *Araṇya* and *Kishkindhyā Kāṇḍas* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* we see the first beginnings of the Aryan infiltration into the country south of the Godāvarî. Though vast tracts of the Deccan were still covered with forests and the main body of Aryan settlers was still confined to the territory lying to the north of the Godāvarī, Aryan sages had already opened up the country as far south as the Pampā (possibly the Tuṅgabhadrā), and Aryan princes had pushed as far as Ceylon. The Aryans had not, however, yet come to the far south in large numbers, and, it is not till the days of Kātyāyana and Megasthenes (fourth century B.C.), that we have the first chronologically valuable references to flourishing *Janapadas* in the fertile valleys of the Kāverî and the Tāmraparṇî.

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, 1891, p. 375.

CHAPTER VIII

INDIA IN PURĀṆIC COSMOGRAPHY

(The nomenclature of India and the place of the country in the cosmic system of the Hindus)

Early nomenclature of India.

India surrounded on three sides by the great ocean and bounded on the fourth side by the most stupendous mountain system of the world which 'stretches along on its north like the string of a bow' (*kārmukasya yathā guṇāḥ*)[1] is undoubtedly a geographical unit. But we have no comprehensive designation for the country in the earliest literature, whether Indian or foreign. Neither *Sapta Sindhavaḥ*, the name applied to their home-land by the Vedic Aryans, nor Āryāvarta, the designation of Aryandom in the days of Bodhāyana and Manu, meant the whole of the Indian sub-continent; and even the terms 'Hidus'[2] and 'India'[3] when used by Darius and Herodotus did not probably denote at first any territory beyond the Indus valley. The reason is not far to seek. The Indian and foreign peoples to whom we are indebted for the earliest notices of Hindusthān, were acquainted only with one corner of this vast sub-continent, *viz.*, the north-west region watered by the Indus and the upper Ganges. It is only in or about the fourth century B.C. that we have the first indubitable proof--in the pages of Kātyāyana[4] and Megasthenes[5]—of the exploration of the whole country down to

[1] *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* 57, 59. Pargiter's translation, p. 347.

[2] *Ancient Persian Lexicon and the texts of the Achaemenidan Inscriptions* by H. C. Tolman.

[3] *Herodotus*, Book III, Chs. 97-98.

[4] *Vārttika* to Pāṇini, iv. i, 168 (*Pāṇḍo ḍyaṇ*).

[5] Fragments LI, LVI B, LVIII.

the Pāṇḍyan realm in the extreme south.[1] And it is precisely about this period that we have the first clear indication of the use of a comprehensive term for the great territory stretching from the Himavat to the sea. That term is Jambudvîpa.

Jambudvîpa—its denotation.

As is well-known, Jambudvîpa is mentioned in one of the minor Rock Edicts of Aśoka[2] as the designation of the extensive region throughout which the *Pakama* (*Parākrama*) of the Maurya Emperor made itself felt. The term is used to denote the dominions of Aśoka in the seventh century A.D., by I-tsing[3] who clearly distinguishes it from China[4] and mentions Fu-nan or Poh-nan (Kuo) as lying on its south corner.[5] But already in the period of the Epics and the Purāṇas Jambudvîpa has acquired a wider denotation. Though still distinguished from Śākadvîpa—the land of the *Magadvijas* who worship the sun-god[6]—it is regarded as practically identical with

[1] There are no doubt references to the Pāṇḍya country in the epics. But these cannot be dated even approximately.

[2] Y(i)-imāya kālāya Jambudipasi amisā devā husu te dāni m(i)s kaṭā. Pakamasi hi esa phale.

[3] I-tsing's *Record of the Buddhist Religion*, trans. by Takakusu, p. 14,

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 136.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13. Fu-nan corresponds to Siam and part of Cambodia (Takakusu).

[6] Magā Magadhamānasyā Mandagāścha dvijātayaḥ
yajanti Sūryarūpantu Śākaḥ kshîrābdhinā vṛitaḥ
(*Agni Purāṇa* 119.21).

Magā Brāhmaṇa-bhūyishṭhā Magadhāḥ Kshatriyāstu te
Vaiśyāstu Mānasāsteshāṁ Śūdrā jñeyāstu Mandagāḥ
Śākadvîpe sthitair Vishṇuḥ Sūryarūpa-dharo Hariḥ
yathoktairijyate samyak karmabhir niyatātmabhiḥ.
(*Brahma Purāṇa* xx. 71f.).

Kshiti (the earth), and is described as being "low on the south and north, and highly elevated in the middle" (dakshiṇottarato nimnā madhye tuṅgāyatā kshitiḥ).[1] Among its divisions we find mention of Ketumāla, the valley of the Vaṅkshu[2] (Oxus), Ilāvṛita, the district round Meru[3] which the *Mahābhārata* places near the sandy desert beyond the Himālayas,[4] and Uttara-Kuru, another trans-Himālayan tract[5] which has become quite mythical in the Purāṇic period. The Island of Java (Yava) is also included within its limits.[6]

Cf. Also *Kūrma Purāṇa*, i, 48. 36-37; *Mbh.*, vi. 11. 8-38. In the epic, however, Śākadvīpa seems to be regarded as a centre of Śaivism (*pujyate tatra Śaṅkaraḥ*, vi. 11, 28).

The Sun-worshipping Maga Brāhmaṇas are doubtless the Magi of Irāṇ (Bhandarkar, *Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 153). In the Śaṅkara-worshipping inhabitants of Śākadvīpa we may perhaps find a reference to Scythic Kings like Kadphises II and Vāsudeva I. Note also the presence of the Pāśupatas in "Lang-ka-lo" which was subject to Persia (Watters, ii. 257). Vidyābhūshaṇa identifies Śākadvīpa with Sogdiana *JASB*, 1902, Part I, p. 154).

[1] *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Ch. 54. 12 f.

[2] *Ibid.*, Ch. 54. 8-14; 56. 13f.; 59. 12-17. Vaṅkshu is often corrupted into Chakshu, Raṅkshu, Sva-rakshu, etc. See *Ind. Ant.* 1912, p. 265 f.

[3] Madhye tv-Ilavṛito yastu Mahāmeroḥ samantataḥ (*Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, Ch. 35. 22).

[4] *Mbh.*, xvii. 2. 1-2:

tataste niyatātmāna Udīchīṁ diśamāsthitāḥ
dadṛiśur yogayuktāścha Himavantam mahāgirim
taṁ chāpyatikramantaste dadṛiśur bālukārṇavam,
avaikshanta mahāśailaṁ Meruṁ śikhariṇāṁ varam.

[5] Pareṇa Himavantam (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, viii. 14. Vedic Index).

[6] *Brahmāṇḍa* (52.14-19).

The system of Dvīpas ane Varshas.

As the denotation of Jambudvīpa becomes wider, need is felt for a new term to mean the country south of the Himavat. Such a term is Bhāratavarsha which, in the opinion of Lüders, is mentioned as early as the Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga.[1] Jambudvīpa, however, still continues to be used in its narrower sense as a synonym of Bhāratavarsha.[2] The world is now conceived of as comprising seven concentric island continents (Saptadvīpā Vasumatī[3]) separated by encircling seas[4] which 'increased double and double compared with each preceding one, (dviguṇair dviguṇair vṛiddhyā sarvataḥ pariveshṭitāḥ).[5] These insular continents

[1] Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 1345.

[2] *Cf. Mbh.*, vi. 6. 13:

tasya pārśveshvamī dvîpā
śchatvāraḥ saṁsthitā vibho
Bhadrāśvaḥ Ketumālaścha
Jambudvîpaścha Bhārata.

Cf. also *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, 37. 27-46; 43. 32.

[3] Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya*, Kielhorn's ed., Vol. I, p. 9.

Cf. Sapta-dvîpavatî Mahî (*Brahmāṇḍa*, 37. 13). The number is sometimes raised to nine (sasāgarā navadvîpā dattā bhavati Medinî, *Padma*, Svarga, vii. 26) or thirteen (trayodaśa samudrasya dvîpānaśnan Purūravāḥ, *Mbh.*, i. 74. 19, with Nīlakaṇṭha's com.) or reduced to four (*Mbh.*, vi. 6. 13).

[4] And apparently floating on them—Jalopari mahî yātā naurivāste sarijjale (*Garuḍa*, 54. 4).

[5] *Mārk. Purāṇa*, Ch. 54.7; Alberuni, 1. 233; *cf.* the Buddhist teaching about the world and the system of which it forms a constituent as summarised by Hiuen Tsang (Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, I, pp. 31-36): "In the ocean, resting on a gold disk is the mount Sumeru. Around the Sumeru are seven mountains and *seven seas.* Outside the seven gold mountains is the salt sea. In the sea there are four islands, *viz.*, Kuru, Godāna, Videha and Jambu." For Jaina Cosmography, see Barnett, *Antiquities of India*, p. 198 f.

("dry collars" of Alberuni) are further divided into smaller areas (*Khaṇḍakān*)[1] called *Varshas*,[2] Bhārata (*Himāhva*) being the name of the southernmost *Varsha*[3] of the innermost continent, Jambudvīpa.

As pointed out by Alberuni[4] and Abul Fazl[5] there is considerable diversity in the order of the *Dvīpas* and *Varshas* and their extent and other particulars. There is, however, agreement in regard to the first and seventh Dvīpas which are invariably named Jambu and Pushkara[6] respectively. The names of the *Dvīpas* and seas as given in the *Agni* and most of the other Purāṇas are mentioned below :—

Jambu-Plakshāhvayau dvîpau
Sālmaliśchāparo mahān
Kuśaḥ Krauñchastathā Śākaḥ
Pushkaraścheti saptamaḥ
ete dvîpāḥ samudraistu
sapta saptabhirāvṛitāḥ
lavaṇekshu-surā-sarpir-
dadhi-dugdha-jalaiḥ samam.[7]

[1] For Khaṇḍakān see *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, Ch. 54. 12.

[2] *Varsha* is thus defined in the *Brahmāṇḍa* (53. 133-134):

ṛishayo nivasantyasmin prajā yasmāchchaturvidhāḥ,
tasmād Varshamiti proktam prajānāṁ sukhadantu tat
ṛisha ityeva ṛishayo vṛishaḥ śakti prabardhane.
iti prabardhanāt siddhiṁ varshatvam tena teshu tat.

[3] dakshiṇam varsham Himāhvam (*Brahmāṇḍa*, Ch. 33. 44).

[4] Vol. I, p. 236.

[5] *Ain-i-Akbari*, iii. 32 (trans. by Jarrett).

[6] dvîpā mayā proktā Jambu-dvîpādayo . . . . Pushkarāntāḥ (*Mārk*. *Purāṇa*, 54-6).

[7] *Agni Purāṇa*, 108. 1-3.

Alberuṇi[1] seems to prefer the evidence of the *Matsya Purāṇa* which, along with the *Padma*, mentions the names in the following order :—Jambu, Śāka, Kuśa, Krauñcha Śālmali, Gomeda (in the place of Plaksha), and Pushkara.[2] Abul Fazl[3] regards the legends about the six outer continents as being beyond the limits of credibility. So he puts them aside and confines himself to a few particulars regarding Jambudvîpa. It may at once be conceded that the description of most of the seven *dvīpas* in the extant Purāṇas marks them out as things of fairyland,[4] comparable to the Isles of the Blessed or the Spanish El Dorado. The very conception of the earth as an aggregate of seven concentric islands surrounded by seas is pure mythology. It is, however, well to remember that the word *dvīpa* originally meant nothing more than a land between two sheets of water[5] (usually rivers), and that some of the Purāṇic dvîpas are obviously named after tribes, or connected with localities, which can be identified with more or less certainty. Śākadvīpa, for example, is at first obviously named after the Śakas and the description of its inhabitants as 'Maga-dvijas' who workship "*Sūrya-rūpa-dharo Hari*" clearly points to its identification with Śakasthāna or Seistan in Irāṇ, the land of the Magi and

[1] Vol. I, p. 236. Gomeda may be Komedai of Ptolemy.

[2] For the enumeration of the dvīpas see *Matsya Purāṇa*, Chs. 122, 123; *Padma Purāṇa*, Svarga-khaṇḍa, Ch. IV.

[3] *Ain-i-Akbari*, iii. 29.

[4] *Cf. Vishṇu Purāṇa*, II. iv. 9, 15, etc.

"nādhayo vyādhayo vāpi sarva kāla sukhaṁ hi tat."

"Plaksha dvîpādishu Brahman Śākadvîpāntikeshu vai
pañcha varsha sahasrāṇi janā jivantyanāmayāḥ." etc.

[5] Dvirāpatvāt smṛito dvîpaḥ (*Brahmāṇḍa*, 53. 140). *Cf. Mahābhāshya*, Kielhorn's ed., Vol. I. p. 131. *Cf.* also Śākaladvîpa mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (ii. 26. 5-6) which was clearly a tract between two rivers (the Rāvi and the Chināb).

of the Mihira cult.[1] Votaries of this cult migrated to India in large numbers probably in the Scythian period and constitute the Śākadvîpî community of the present day.[2] The name of the next dvîpa mentioned in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, *viz.*, Kuśa, reminds us of the famous race which, according to Kumāralāta and Baron A. von Staël Holstein,[3] gave India the powerful emperors of Kanishka's line. Plaksha which is placed next to Jambudvîpa by many Purāṇas[4] as well as the commentator of Patañjali,[5] has, as one of its streams, the river Kramu or Krumu[6] mentioned as early as the Ṛigveda,[7] and identified by scholars with the modern Kurram, a western tributary of the Indus. In one Purāṇic list we find Kubhā (the Kābul river) in place of Krumu.[8] These facts may point to some region immediately to the west of the Indus as the probable site

[1] *Cf.* Bhandarkar, *Vaishṇavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 153.

[2] *Cf.* Bhandarkar (Prof. D. R.), Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population (*Ind. Ant.*), p. 11. Vidyābhushaṇa, *JASB*, 1902, Part I, pp. 152-155.

[3] *JRAS*. Jan., 1914, pp. 79-88 ; Smith, *Early History of India* 4th ed., p. 266 n. For Kumāralāta, see my *Political History of Ancient India*, 3rd ed., p. 322. Vidyābhūshaṇa (*JASB*, 1902, Part I, p. 151) compares the *Damin* Brāhmaṇas of Kuśadvîpa (*Vishṇu Purāṇa*, II. iv. 39) with the Damnai and other tribes inhabiting Serike (*Ancient India* as described by Ptolemy, ed. S. N. Majumdār, pp. 299, 305).

[4] *Cf.* Plaksha-dvîpa-parikrāntaṁ Jampudvîpaṁ nibodhata (*Brahmāṇḍa*, 34-40 *Cf.* also 50- 4).

[5] Alberuṇi, Vol. I, p, 235. The Bhāshya on Patañjali's Yoga.-sūtras is meant here. It is atributed to Vyāsa·

[6] *Brahmāṇḍa*, 53.19 ; Garuḍa, 56. 4. 'Anutaptā Sikhî chaiva Vipāśā Tridivā Kramuḥ.'

[7] See *Vedic Index*.

[8] *Kūrma Purāṇa*, I, Ch. 48. 7. 'Anutaptā Sik ā chaiva Vipāpa Tridivā Kubhā.'

of the 'Plaksha dvîpa, of the Purāṇas.[1] A Purāṇic passage quoted by Alberuṇi[2] places Pushkara between Chîna and Maṅgala (Mongolia ?). Thus the account of the 'seven dvîpas' may have had originally a substratum of reality. But the extant texts bearing on the subject are so hopelessly corrupt that the kernel of truth is in most cases buried beyond reach underneath a vast mass of Utopian myths.[3] It is only in the account of Jambudvîpa that the poet has not altogether thrust out the geographer.[4]

The Varshas of Jambudvîpa.

Jambudvîpa—also called Sudarśanadvîpa—is said to derive its name "from a tree growing in it, the branches of which extend over a space of 100 Yojanas." [5] It is

[1] Vidyabhūshaṇa is inclined to identify Plaksha-dvîpa with Ariana (*JASB*, 1902, Part I, p. 151).

[2] Ch. XXV. p. 261.

[3] *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, II, iv. 9-15 quoted above. Compare also the textual corruptions in the account of Śākadvîpa in *Brahmāṇḍa*. 53. 76 f., and *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, 56, 14-15; in *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, II. iv. 69 f., Maga (=Magi) becomes Mṛiga ; *Cf.* also the account of Pushkaradvîpa in *Vishṇu*, Book II, Ch. IV, 73-93. esp.

> "Bhojanam Pushkara-dvîpe tatra svayam upasthitam,
> Shaḍrasaṁ bhuñjate vipra prajāḥ sarvāḥ sadaia hi."

This dvîpa is surrounded by the sea of स्वादूदक (sweet water), beyond which lies the golden earth (Kañchanî bhūmi) which is sarva-jantu-vivarjita. Behind it lies Lokāloka śaila, a mountain of the height of ten yojanas !!! Bhāskara in the *Siddhānta Siromaṇi* "dismisses the system of dvîpas as Paurāṇikî kathā" (Seal, *Vaishṇavism and Christianity*, p. 48).

[4] Jambudvîpa is the continent inhabited by human beings, *Jambudvipo narāśrayah* (*Brahmāṇḍa*, 37. 34).

[5] For the derivation of the name, see Alberuṇi, i. 251 ; Brahmāṇḍa 37. 28-34 ; 50.25-26 ; Matsya, 114.74-75.

> *Sudarśano nāma mahān Jambu-vṛikshaḥ Sanātanah*
> *tasya nāmnā samākhyāto Jambudvîpo vanaspateḥ*
> (*Matsya*) *cf. Mbh.* vi. 5.13-16; vi. 7.19-20.

said to be shaped like a lotus with Meru as its karṇikā (pericarp) and the *Varshas* or *Mahādvîpas*, Bhadrāśva, Bhārata, Ketumāla and Uttara-kuru, as its four petals.[1] Less poetical, but more important from the point of view of sober geography, is the description of Jambudvīpa as being 'low on the south and north, and highly elevated in the middle.' [2] The elevated region in the centre is styled Ilāvṛita, or Meru varsha *i.e.*, the district round Meru.[3]

There was also a river called Jambū nadī which takes the place of Suchakshu (Oxus) in a passage of the *Mahābhārata* (Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 5). Is Amu a corruption of Jambū ?

[1] *Jambudvîpaśchaturdala-kamalākāraḥ*—(Nilakaṇṭha's *Commentary on Mbh.*, vi. 6.3-5).

tadevam pāthivam padmaṁ chatushpatram mayoditam
Bhadrāśva- Bhāratādyāni patrāṇyasya chaturdiśam
(*Mārk.*, 55, 20f).
Pṛithvîpadmaṁ Meru-parvata-karṇikam
(*Brahmāṇḍa* 35. 41).
Mahādvîpāstu vikhyātāśchatvāraḥ patrasaṁsthitāḥ
Padmakarṇika-saṃsthāno Merurnāma mahābalaḥ
(*ibid.* 50)
Chaturmahādvîpavatī seyamūrvī prakirtitā
(*Brahmāṇḍa*, 44. 35).

The names of the "four mahādvîpas" are given in Ch. 35, verses 50-61, and Ch. 44, verses 35-38, as Bhadrāśva, Bhārata, Ketumāla and Uttara-kuru. In Ch. 37, verses 27-46; Ch 43.32 and *Mbh.*, vi. 6.13, Jambudvîpa takes the place of Bhārata, while Buddhist authors replace Bhadrāśva and Ketumāla by Pūrva-videha and Apara-godāna respectively (Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 57; Walters, Yuan Chwang, Vol. I, pp. 31-36). Jambudvîpa according to Buddhist writers is divided by four lords—the elephant-lord who rules the South (India), the lord of precious substances who rules the West (Rome?), the horse-lord who rules the North (Scythia?) and the man-lord who rules the East (China).

[2] *Mārk.*, 54. 12 f.

[3] *Meruvarshaṁ mayā proktaṁ madhyamaṁ yad-Ilāvṛitam* (*Mārk.*, 60.7). *Madhye tv-Ilavṛito yastu Mahāmeroḥ samantataḥ* (*Brahmāṇḍa*, 35.22).

To the north of this tract lie Ramyaka,[1] Hiraṇmaya[2] and Uttara-kuru[3] and on the south are Bhārata,[4] Kimpurusha[5] and Harivarsha [6]—Bhārata being the southernmost region (varsha) separated from Kimpurusha by the Himavat chain, and described, like Uttara-kuru (the northernmost region), as being shaped like a bow.[7] To the seven original varshas [8] are added two others of a longitudinal character, *viz.*, Bhadrāśva (east of Meru) and Ketumāla (west of Meru), raising the number to nine.[9]

[1] Also called Ramaṇaka (*Matsya*, 113.61; Mbh., vi. 8.2) and Nîlavarasha (*Brahmāṇḍa* 34.46). The *Garuḍa Purāṇa* places it on the north-west of Meru (Ch. 55. 3).

[2] *Hiraṇmayaṁ nāmā yatra Hairanvati nadî* (*Mbh.*, vi. 8. 5), also called Śvetavaraha (*Brahmāṇḍa*, 34. 46 ; *Agni*. Ch. 107.7) *Cf.* Śvetadvîpa of the *Nārāyaṇīya*. The *Garuḍa Purāṇa* places Hiraṇvat in *Pūrva-dakshiṇa* (Ch. 56. 1). For the name Hiraṇvat see also *Matsya*. 113. 64.

[3] Also called Śṛṅgavad-varsha (*Brahmāṇḍa*, 34.47) and Airāvata-varsha (*Mbh.*, vi. 6. 37).

[4] Also called Himāhva (*Brahmāṇḍa*, 84. 44. 53), Haimavata *ibid*, 35.30; *Matsya*, 113, 28) and Ajanābha (*Ind. Ant.*, 1899, p. 1).

[5] Also called Hemakūṭa-varsha (*Brahmāṇḍa*, 34. 44), Haimavata-varsha (*Mbh.*, vi. 6.7) and Kinnara-khaṇḍa (*Ain-i-Akbari*, iii, pp. 30.31)

[6] Also called Nishadha-varsha (*Brahmāṇḍa*, 34.45). The *Garuḍa Purāṇa* places Harivarsha in the South-West of Meru (Ch. 55.2).

[7] *Dhanuḥ-saṁsthe cha vijñeye dve varshe dakshiṇ-ottare* (*Matsya*, 113-32 ; *Brahmāṇḍa*, 35.33; *Mbh.*, vi. 6.38).

[8] *Sapta varshāṇi vakshyāmi Jambudvîpaṁ yathāvidham* (*Matsya* 113-4)). *Varshāṇi yāṇî saptātra* (*Brahmāṇḍa* 35.24 ; *varshāṇi sapta* (*ibid*, 28). *Cf. Mbh.*, vi. 6.53.

[9] Nava Varshāṇi (*Matsya*, 114.85 ; *Brahmāṇḍa* 34.48); navavarshaṃ Jambudvîpam (*ibid*. 35.7). *Cf*. Nīlakaṇṭha's *Commentary on Mbh.*, vi. 6.37 ; "*Kechid Bhadrāśva-Ketumālayor varshāntaratvaṁ prakalpya nava varshāṇîtyāchakshate.*"

The *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* applies the names Mālyavadvarsha and Gandhamādana-varsha to Bhadrāśva and Ketumāla respectively (Ch. 34. 47.48) In 45.24 and 46. 35 Bhadrāśva is called Pūrvadvîpa (*Cf.* Pūrva Videha). In *Agni*, 108.14, the name is given as Su-pārśva.

The description of the trans-Himālayan *Varshas* is, in the main, as idealistic and mythical as the island continents surrounding Jambudvîpa. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* naïvely says : [1]

·yāni Kimpurushādyāni Varshāṇyashṭau dvijottama
teshudbhidāditoyāni meghavāryatra Bhārate
*　*　*　*　*
na chaiteshu yugāvasthā nādhayo vyādhayo na cha
puṇyāpuṇya-samārambho naiva teshu dvijottama

"In Kimpurusha and the seven other countries, O Brāhman, waters bubble up *from the ground*; here in Bhārata we have rain... And in these countries the ages do not exist, nor bodily nor mental sicknesses : nor is there any undertaking involving merit or demerit there, O Brāhman" (Pargiter).

There are, however, some faint indications that the original accounts may have been based on some real knowledge of the topography and physical features of Central and perhaps also Northern Asia. The elevated *varsha* in the middle of Jambudvîpa may have reference to the high plateau between the Oxus and the Tarim valleys, not far from the sandy deserts of Central Asia—the Bālukārṇava which the *Mahābhārata* places close to Meru.[2]

[1] Ch. 56. 22-26; *cf.* also Ch. 53.35,

yāni Kimpurushākhyāni varjjayitvā Himāhvayam,
teshāṃ svabhāvataḥ siddhiḥ sukhaprāyā hyayatnataḥ.

"Perfection *exists* naturally in Kimpurusha and the other *continents*, with the exception of that named from the mountain Hima ; and the *perfection* is almost complete happiness *which comes* without exertion" (Pargiter).

[2] Dr. Seal (*Vaishṇavism and Christianity*, 48-49) compares Mount Meru with "Pamir or Bam-i-duniya, the roof of the world" In the seventh century A.D. "the Po-lo-se-na range of the great snow mountains" near the frontier of Kapis, was considered to be

Ketumāla, the western Varsha, drained by the Vaṅkshu (Oxus),[1] which flows past "Chīna, Maru (desert), and the country of the Tushāras, Pahlavas, Daradas, Sakas," [2] etc., is obviously to be connected with Western Turkestan, while Bhadrāśva watered by the Sītā, the mythical prototype of the Yarkand and Yellow rivers,[3] apparently stands for Eastern Turkestan and North China. Uttarakuru placed beyond the Himālayas by the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, and immediately to the south of *Uttaraḥ payasāṁ nidhiḥ* (the Arctic Ocean) by the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[4]

the highest mountain in Jambudvîpa (Watters, *Yuan Chwang* II. 267), and the Ts'ung Ling (Onion Range) the centre of that continent (*ibid.*, pp. 270, 282). The Ts'ung Ling is the Bolor Tagh and Karakorum Mountains of modern geographers (Watters). It separates Eastern Turkestan from Western Turkestan.

[1] For Vakshu (Variants Chakshu, Sva-rakshu, Raṅkshu, Vaṅkshu), see *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, 51. 47; *Matsya Purāṇa*, 121. 45; *Mārk. Purāṇa*, Ch. 56.13 f. ; 59.15, *Ind. Ant.*, 1912. p. 265 f.

[2] Atha China Maruṁśchaiva
Taṅganān sarva Mūlikān,
Sāndrāms Tushārāṃs Tampākān (Lampākān?)
Pahlavān Daradān Śakān,
etān Janapadān Chakshuḥ (=Vaṅkshu)
plāvayantî gatodadhim

(*Vāyu Purāṇa*, 47. 44-45.)

[3] For Sîtā see *Brahmāṇḍa*, 45.17-24, 51. 44-45 and *Vāyu* 41-43. The *Brahmāṇḍa* expressly connects this river with "Sirindhrān Kukuran Chînān" and also with the "Rushas" (Russians ?). The *Matsya Purāṇā* (121.43) has the reading "*Saśailan Kukurān Randhrān Varvarān Yavanān Khasān*" and the *Vayu* (47.43) "*Sirindhrān Kuntalān Chīnān Varvarān Yavanān Druhān.*" The Sîtā is apparently the Yarkand river (Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II. 283-88).

According to one theory it flows underground until it emerges at the Chi-shih Mountain and becomes the source of the Yellow River of China (Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, I. 32).

[4] *Kishkindhyā Kāṇḍa*, Canto 43 (Bangabāsī edition).

is an indefinite semi-mythic tract which Nabin Chandra Dās [1] identifies with certain countries in Northern Asia. Beyond this is the 'Northern deep':

> " Where springing from the billows high
> Mount Somagiri seeks the sky
> And lightens with perpetual glow
> The sunless realm that lies below.

Scholars find in these lines (sa tu deśo visūryo pi tasya bhāsā prakāśate) a reference to the Aurora Borealis[2] and are inclined to credit the *Rāmāyaṇa* with some accurate knowledge of the North. The Uttara-kuru of the *Purāṇas* is, however, a sort of El Dorado[3] which it would be futile to equate with any terrestrial region. Attempts have been made to identify the remaining trans-Himālayan Varshas[4] but without any plausibility.

Bhāratavarsha.

The southernmost *Varsha*, Bhārata, lying between the Himavat and the sea,[5] is, of course, India. The term, however, as used by Purāṇic

[1] A note on the *Ancient Geography of Asia* compiled from Vālmîki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, pp. 67-68.

[2] Seal, *Vaishṇavism and Christianity* (MDCCCXCIX), p. 49. The suggestion is already found in Nabin Chandra Dās's *Note on the Ancient Geography of Asia* (1896), pp. 67-68.

[3] *Cf. Vāyu Purāṇa*, 45. 1. 1 f.: Pliny, Bk. XVL.c, 17: "About the Attacori (Uttarakuru) Amometus composed a volume for private circulation similar to the work of Hecataeus about the Hyperboreans." (McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 113; *cf.* also McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, Chuckervertty and Chatterjee's ed., pp. 76-79).

[4] C. V. Vaidya, *Epic India*, p. 268 f.

Seal, *Vaishṇavism and Christianity*, pp. 47-50. The identification of Ramyaka with Rome is clearly untenable (*cf. Ain-i-Akbari*, iii. pp. 30-31).

[5] Uttaraṁ yat samudrasya Himavaddakshiṇañcha yat
Varshaṁ tad Bhārataṁ nāma yatreyaṁ Bhāratî prajā
(*Vāyu Purāṇa*, 45.75-76).

cosmographers, embraces much more than India Proper as is apparent from the names of some of its divisions which "extend to the ocean, but are mutually inaccessible" (samudrāntaritā jñeyā ste tvagamyāḥ parasparam).[1] Among these are Kaṭāha[2] and Siṁhala, identified with Kedah[3] (in the Malay Peninsula) and Ceylon respectively.[4]

The name Bhāratavarsha is said to be derived from the legendary king Bharata[5] whom most of the *Purāṇas* represent as a descendant of Priyavrata, son of Manu Svāyambhuva.[6] We are told that Priyavrata had ten sons three of whom became recluses and the remaining seven were anointed as rulers of the seven great island continents of the Purāṇic world. Agnîdhra, who got Jambudvîpa, the innermost continent, had nine sons to each of whom he assigned the sovereignty of one of the nine *Varshas* into which his *dvîpa* was divided.[7] Bhāratavarsha fell to the

Uttaraṁ yat samudrasya Himādreśchaiva dakshiṇam
Varshaṁ tad Bhārataṁ nāma Bhāratī yatra santatiḥ
(*Vishṇu Purāṇa*, ii. 3.1).

[1] *Mārkandeya Purāṇa*, 57.6.

[2] *Vāmana Pūraṇa*, xiii. 10-11; *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, Ch. 55.5.

[3] Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, Vol. III, Orientalia, Part I, pp. 3-4.

[4] Alberuni (I, p. 295), says, "Bhāratavarsha is not India alone." Abul Fazl (*Ain*, III, p. 7) says, "Hindusthān is described as enclosed on the east, west and south by the ocean, but Ceylon, Achin, the Moluccas and a considerable number of islands are accounted within its extent." *Cf.* the reference to Yavadvîpa in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (iv. 40.30), *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (52. 14-19), and *Vāyu Purāṇa* (48.14 f.); (miscalled Yamadvîpa).

[5] Himāhvaṁ dakshiṇaṁ Varshaṁ Bharatāya nyavedayat.
tasmāt tad Bhārataṁ Varshaṁ tasya nāmnā vidur
budhāḥ (*Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, 34-55).

[6] *Bhāgavata*, xi. 2.15 f.

[7] *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, Ch. 54; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (Bangabāsī edition), Ch. 34.

share of Nābhi.[1] The son of Nābhi was Ṛishabha. And it was Bharata, son of Ṛishabha, who gave his name to the southern Varsha styled Himāhva.[2] In certain Purāṇic passages, however, it is stated that Bharata was an epithet of Manu himself and the country was named after him.[3] In view of the discrepant testimony of the *Purāṇas* it is perhaps not unreasonable to suggest that the name of the country south of the Himavat was derived, not from the mythical Bharata of the *Purāṇas*, but from the historical Bharata tribe (*cf.* Bhāratî prajā of *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 45.76; Bhāratî santatiḥ, *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, ii.3.1) which plays so important a part in Vedic and Epic tradition. The political domination of the greater part of India by 'seven Bhāratas' is testified to by Buddhist texts.[4] The cultural supremacy of the tribe is equally clear from the evidence of the *Ṛik* and *Yajus Saṁhitās*, the *Brāhmaṇas* and the Great epic which bears the name of *Mahābhārata*.

Foreign nomenclature of India.

While the *Purāṇas* name India after a mythical tree (Jambu), a legendary hero, or the great mountain of snow (Hima) which walls it off from the rest of the world,

[1] Nābhestu dakshiṇaṁ Varshaṁ Himāhvantu pitā dadau (*Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, 34.44). *Cf.* the name Ajanābha given to Bhāratavarsha in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (*Ind. Ant.*, 1899, p. 1).

[2] The name Himāhva is derived from the Himālayan chain. *Cf.* also *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, Ch. 35.30, "idaṁ Haimavatam Varshaṁ Bhārataṁ nāma viśruta." In the *Mahābhārata*, however, (vi. 6,7) the name Haimavata is (also) applied to Kimpurusha-varsha.

[3] bharaṇāchcha prajānāṁ vai Manur Bharata uchyate
Nirukta-vachanāchchaiva Varshaṁ tat Bhārataṁ smṛitam.

(*Matsya Purāṇa*, 114.5; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, 49.10). *Cf.* Alberuni (I. 251), "we find a tradition in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* that the centre (*sic*) of Jambudvîpa is called Bhāratavarsha, which means those who acquire something and nourish themselves."

[4] *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part II, p. 270.

foreigners, particularly those coming from the north-west, named it after the mighty river which, like the Nile in Egypt, constitutes the most imposing feature of that part of the country with which they first came into contact. It is only the Chinese pilgrims and Muslim scholars well-versed in Buddhist or Brāhmaṇical lore, who show acquaintance with the traditional Indian nomenclature, and employ terms suggestive of social and religious characteristics.

Of the names derived from the Sindhu (Persian Hindu, Greek Indus) the earliest are those recorded by the ancient Persians in the Avesta and the Inscriptions of Darius. In the Vendidad we have the name *Hapta Hindu*, doubtless identical with *Sapta Sindhava* of the *Ṛigveda*.[1] The famous name *Hi(n)du* occurs in the Persepolis and Naksh-i-Rustam inscriptions of Darius.[2] It corresponds to *'India'* of Herodotus which constituted the twentieth Satrapy of the Persian king and apparently signified only the Indus Valley bounded on the east by the desert of Rājaputāna, etc. "Of the Indians," says Herodotus, "the population is by far the greatest of all nations whom we know of, and they paid a tribute proportionately larger than all the rest, 360 talents of gold dust; this was the twentieth division. That part of India towards the rising sun is all sand...the Indians' country towards the east is a desert by reason of the sands."[3] But "India" was already acquiring a wider denotation, for Herodotus speaks of Indians who "are situated very far from the Persians, towards the south, and were never subject to Darius."[4]

In the days of Alexander and his immediate successors the term acquires a still wider meaning "in accordance with the law of geographical nomenclature."[5] Megasthenes, for

[1] *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 324. [2] *Ibid.*, 335.
[3] Book III, 97-98 (trans. by McCrindle). [4] *Ibid.*, 101.
[5] Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 24.

instance, applies the name to the whole country "which is in shape quadrilateral," and has "its eastern as well as its western side bounded by the great sea, but on the northern side it is divided by Mount Hemōdos from that part of Skythia which is inhabited by the Sakai, while the fourth or western side is bounded by the river called the Indus. The extent of the whole country from east to west is said to be 28,000 stadia, and from north to south 32,000.

A further stage in the widening of the denotation of India is reached in the days of Ptolemy who includes within its limits not only Hindusthān, but also the vast region lying beyond the Ganges (India extra Gangem).[1]

The earliest Chinese writers (*e.g.*, Chang-K'ien and his successors) employ the terms Shêntu and Hsien-tou (Sindhu) which is soon replaced by T'ien-chu.[2] With the Tang period came a new name Yin-tu which is soon confounded with Indu (the moon), and it is naïvely suggested that "the bright connected lights of holy men and sages, guiding the world as the shining of the moon, have made this country eminent, and so it is called In-tu." [3]

Along with these foreign names of riparian origin and traditional Indian appellations like Jambudvîpa we find, in the records of Hiuen-Tsang and I-tsing, other designations of India which are suggestive of its geographical position in relation to China, its grand regional divisions, and its religious and social conditions, particularly the prominence of the Indra cult and the ascendency of the Aryans and especially of the *Brāhmaṇas*. Such names are *Si-fang* (the west), *Wu-t'ien* (the five

[1] *Cf.* also Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, 1-2.

[2] Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, I, 132, 137, 140.

[3] Beal, *Records (Si-yu-ki)*, I, p. 69.

countries of India), *A-li-ya-t'i-sha* (Āryadeśa), Po-lo-mên-kuo or *Fan-kuo* (Brahma-rāshṭra) and Indra-vardhana.[1]

The latest foreign name of India is probably Hindusthān which reminds us of 'Hi(n)du' of the old Persian epigraphs. In Brāhmaṇical records the term Hindu is probably first met with in the inscriptions of the kings of Vijayanagara.[2] Like India, Hindusthān, too, had a wider and a narrower denotation. "Hindustān in its wider sense means all India lying north of the Vindhya mountains; in the narrower sense, the upper basin of the Ganges. Further the term is sometimes loosely applied by modern writers to the whole of India."[3]

Shape of India according to the ancients.

In the description of Bhārata, as in the account of the "Island" continent of which it constitutes the southernmost part, we have a curious blend of fact and fiction. This is apparent from the confusing and contradictory details about its shape and territorial divisions given in different sections of the *Purāṇas*. In some passages it is described quite correctly as being 'constituted with a fourfold conformation' (*chatuḥ-saṁsthāna-saṁsthitam*),[4] 'on its south and west and east is the great ocean, the Himavat range stretches along on its north like the string of a bow.' This accuracy is not, however, always

[1] Takakusu, *I-tsing's Record*, p. lii. Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, i. 131-40.

[2] *Cf.* Satyamaṅgalam plates, *Epigraphia Indica* iii, p. 38, "*pararāja-bhayaṅkaraḥ Hiṁdurāya Suratrāṇo vaṁdivargeṇa varṇyate.*"

[3] Roberts, *History of British India*, p. 2 n.

[4] *Mārk.*, 57.59. *Cf.* the description of India as a rhomboid, or unequal quadrilateral by Eratosthenes and other writers (Cunn., *Geography*, 2, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 400-402).

maintained, and the *Kūrma-niveśa* section[1] shows a total misconception of the configuration of India by making it conform to the shape of a tortoise "lying out-spread and facing eastwards." A third set of passages[2] describe India as being bow-like (*i.e.*, semi-circular) in shape thus ignoring the *triangular* form[3] of Peninsular India bounded by the sea.

The Nine Divisions of India.

The account of the nine-fold division (*nava-bheda*) of India shows the same mixture of inaccurate or imaginary details with sober statements of facts. In the *Nadyādi-varṇana* section (Canto 57) of the *Bhuvana-kosha* of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* for instance, we are told that *Bhārata-varsha* is cut up into nine parts (*khaṇḍa* or *bheda*) "which must be known as extending to the ocean, but as being mutually inaccessible." [4] They are—

[1] *Mārk.* 58. *Cf.* also the *Kūrma Vibhāga* section of the *Bṛihat Saṁhitā*. In the Geography of Ptolemy, too, "the true shape of India is completely distorted, and its most striking feature, the acute angle formed by the meeting of the two coasts of the Peninsula at Cape Comorin is changed to a single coast line, running almost straight from the mouth of the Indus to the mouth of the Ganges" (Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, ed., by S. N. Majumdār Śāstrī, p. 9).

[2] *Dhanuḥsaṁsthe cha vijñeye dve varshe dakshiṇottare* (*Matsya*, 113.32, *Brahmāṇḍa*, 35.33 : *Mbh.*, vi. 6.38). *Cf.* Nīlakaṇṭha, "*Bhāratavarshasya dhanukākāratvam*" (comm. on *Mbh.*, vi. 6.3-5). Hiuen Tsang, too, apparently compares the shape of India to a half-moon, with the diameter or broad side to the north, and the narrow end to the south (Cunn., *Geography*, p. 12; Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 140).

[3] Regarding the triangular shape of India see Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on *Mbh.*, vi. 6. 3.5—"*Bhārata-varshastrikoṇaḥ,*" and the Chinese *Fah-kai-lip-to* which says, "this country in shape is narrow towards the south, and broad towards the north" (Cunn., *Geography*, p. 12).

[4] *Samudrāntaritā jñeyāste tvagamyāḥ parasparam* (*Mārk.*, 57.5).

Indradvîpaḥ Kaśerumāṁs Tāmraparṇo Gabhastimān
Nāgadvîpastathā Saumyo Gāndharvo Vāruṇastathā
ayaṁ tu navamasteshāṁ dvîpaḥ sāgarasaṁvṛitaḥ[1]
yojanānāṁ sahasraṁ vai dvîpo'yaṁ dakshiṇottarāt
pūrve Kirātā yasyāste paśchime Yavanāstathā
Brāhmaṇāḥ Kshatriyāḥ Vaiśyāḥ Śūdrāśchāntaḥ-
sthitā dvija.

The *Vāmana Purāṇa*[2] reads Kaṭāha and Siṁhala instead of Saumya and Gāndharva, and mentions Kumāra[3] (=Kumārikā,[4] Kaumārika-khaṇḍa) as the name of the *Navama dvîpa.* The ninth dvîpa having at its east end the land of the Kirātas[5] and at the west the Yavanas,[6] and inhabited by the Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas

[1] Alberuni wrongly puts it as *Nagarasaṁvṛitta* (i. 295).

[2] xiii. 10-11 ; also *Garuḍa*, Ch. 55,5—*Nāgadvīpaḥ Kaṭāhaścha Siṁhalo Vāruṇastathā.*

[3] *Kumārākhyaparikhyāto dvîpo'yaṁ dakshiṇottaraḥ* (XIII. ii).

[4] *Kumārikā Khaṇḍam*, 39.69 :

Indradvîpaḥ Kaśeruścha Tāmradvîpo Gabhastimān
Nāgaḥ Saumyaścha Gāndharvo Varuṇaścha Kumārikā.

Rājaśekhara says in his *Kāvya Mīmāṁsā, Deśavibhāga* (p. 92): *tatredaṁ Bhārataṁ Varsham. Asya cha Nava bhedāḥ: Indradvîpaḥ...Kumārî-dvîpaśchāyaṃ navamaḥ...atra cha Kumārî-dvîpe.*

Vindhyaścha Pāripātraścha Śuktīmān Ṛikshaparvataḥ
Mahendra-Sahya-Malayāḥ saptaite Kulaparvatāḥ.

Cf. also the '*Kumāra Khaṇḍa*' of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, iii. p. 31.

[5] Doubtless identical with the Kirrhadia Ptolemy (ed. S. N. Majumdār, p. 219), located near Mount Maiandros. For the position of Mount Mahendra in relation to Kumārîdvîpa and Indradvîpa, see *Skanda Purāṇa, Kumārikā Khaṇḍa*, 39.113.

[6] *Cf.* the Yonas mentioned in the inscriptions of Aśoka in connection with the Kambojas and Gandhāras, and the country of the Yonas referred to in the *Mahāvaṁsa* (Geiger's trans., p. 85). Their capital was Alasanda (=Alexandria, Geiger, p. 194 n) near Kābul.

and Śūdras, is obviously India proper,[1] here regarded as only a *part* of Bhārata-varsha which must, therefore, be taken to denote a wider area. The epithet "*sāgarasaṁvṛitaḥ*" applied to Kumārî Dvîpa hardly accords with reality because India proper "is not surrounded by the sea, but bounded by it only on the east, south, and west, and only partially so in the east and west for verse 8 places the Kirātas and Yavanas there respectively."[2] It is not easy to say how many of the other *dvîpas* belong to the domain of sober geography, and our task is rendered more difficult by the obvious corruption of the text as is evidenced by the substitution, in most of the *Purāṇas*, of Saumya and Gāndharva in place of the well-known lands of Kaṭāha and Siṁhala.[3]

Alberuni with singular inaccuracy represents Indradvîpa as identical with Mid-India.[4] Abul Fazl shows

[1] *Cf.* the *Matsya* (114-10) and *Brahmāṇḍa* passage (49.15): "*āyato hyā Kumārikyādā Gaṅgā-prabhavāchcha vai.*" The *Skanda Purāṇa* restricts 'Kaumārika Khaṇḍa' to the territory between the Pāriyātra and Mahendra, *Kumārikā Khaṇḍa* (39.113), while according to the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (Ch. 55.6) it was bounded on the east by the Kirātas, on the west by the Yavanas, on the south by the Andhras and on the north by the Turushkas:—

pūrve Kirātā stasyāste paśchime Yavanāḥ sthitāḥ
Andhrā dakshinateo Rudra, Turushkāstvapi chottare.

The Kumārî dvîpa, according to the *Mārkaṇḍeya* passage quoted above is "a thousand yojanas from south to north." Patrokles put down the distance as 15,000 stades (1,724 miles, *Camb. Hist., I.* p. 400). Megasthenes put the extent at 22,300 stades. The actual distance is about 1,800 miles. The distance from west to east, where it is shortest, is about 1,360 miles (*Camb. Hist.*)

[2] Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, p. 284 n.

[3] Only the *Vāmana* and *Garuḍa Purāṇas* retain the names of Kaṭāha and Siṁhala.

[4] 'Indradvîpa' or Madhyadeśa, *i.e.*, the middle country (Vol. I, p. 296).

greater acquaintance with Purāṇic tradition by placing it between Laṅkā and Mahendra.[1] In the *Skanda Purāṇa* Indradvîpa is expressly mentioned as lying beyond the Mahendra range.[2] If the testimony of the *Ain-i-Akbari* and the *Skanda Purāṇa* is to be accepted we shall have to place Indradvîpa somewhere beyond the Mahendra (Eastern Ghāṭs), *i.e.*, in the Bay of Bengal. But where is the 'island' in the Bay of Bengal which answers to the Purāṇic description of Indradvīpa? The ingenious suggestion of Mr. S. N. Majumdār Śāstrī that Indradvîpa is Burma deserves attention and may explain why Ptolemy was led to place Maiandros (Mahendra) in India *extra Gangem*.

Kaśerumat is placed by Alberuni to the east of the Madhyadeśa, and by Abul Fazl between Mahendra and Śukti. Mr. Majumdār's identification with the Malaya Peninsula lacks plausibility.[3]

Tāmravarṇa (Tamraparṇa according to the *Kūrma* and Tāmraparṇî according to the *Matsya Purāṇa*) is usually identified with Ceylon which the ancient Greeks called Taprobane, and Aśoka refers to as *Taṁbapaṁni*. But this identification is hardly tenable in view of the fact that the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* clearly distinguishes it from Siṁhala. Alberuni places it in the south-east of India, and Abul Fazl identifies it with the tract between Śukti and Malaya. These facts probably point to the district

[1] *Ain-i-Akbari*, iii. p. 31.

[2] *Mahendraparataśchaiva Indradvîpo niyadyate.*

Pāriyātrasya chaivārvāk Khaṇḍaṁ Kaumārikaṁ smṛitam (*Skanda, Kumārikākhaṇḍa*, 39.113.)

[3] In the *Mahābhārata* III. 12.32, Kaserumat is the name of a Yavana chief killed by Kṛishṇa—*Indradyumno hata kopād Yavanaścha Kaserumān.* The *Sabhāparva* (31.72) mentions a *Yavanānām puram* not far from the sea-coast, from which envoys are said to have been sent to Vibhishaṇa, king of Laṅkā.

drained by the river Tāmraparṇî which rises in the Malaya range. But this view can hardly be reconciled with the statement in the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* that all the *Kulaparvatas* including the Malaya were in the Kumārîdvīpa which is sharply distinguished from Tāmravarṇa. Equally unacceptable is the view of Abul Fazl that Gabhastimat lies between the Ṛiksha and the Pāriyātra. Alberuni places the former south of the Madhyadeśa and the latter on the south-west. Nāgadvīpa may refer to the Jaffna peninsula which Tamil tradition represents as the domain of Nāga king.[1]

Saumya obviously is a misreading for Kaṭāha identified by Çoedes, a French scholar, with the present port of Kedah in the Malay Peninsula.[2]

'Gāndharva' placed by Alberuni on the north-west of the Madhyadeśa may stand for Gandhāra as a passage of the Rāmāyaṇa seems to suggest.[3] But it can hardly be characterised as a '*dvīpa*' inaccessible from India proper. The reading 'Siṁhala' found in the Garuḍa Purāṇa seems to be preferable. 'Siṁhala' is of course Ceylon.

Vāruṇa, the eighth division of Bhārata, is omitted by Alberuni. Abul Fazl identifies it with the western portion of the tract between the Sahya (the Western Ghāṭs) and the Vindhya.

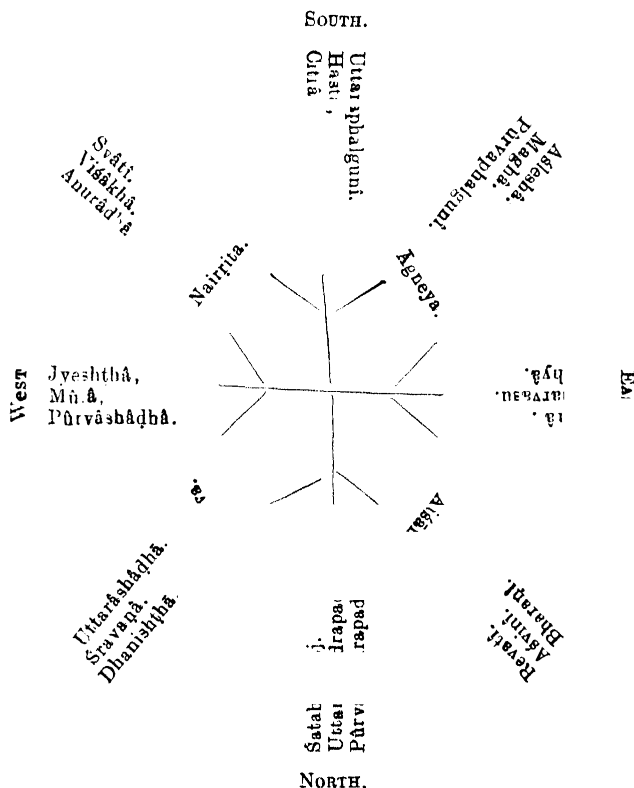
While the description of Bhārata by the Purāṇic cosmographers as an aggregate of nine islands which are mutually inaccessible can hardly be made to accord with reality, the ninefold division (*nava-bheda*) of astrologers set forth in the *Kūrma-nivesa* section is of a different

[1] Smith, EHI, 4th edition, p. 491. *Mahāvaṁśa* (translated by Geiger) p. 6. Tāmraparṇa, Nāgadvīpa and Siṁhala may refer to distinct *parts* of Ceylon.

[2] *Sir Asutosh Mookerji Silver Jubilee Volumes* Vol. III, Orientalia, Part I, p. 4.

[3] *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 113.11; 114.11.

character.[1] Though there is even here considerable misconception in regard to the assignment of the various *janapadas* to particular divisions, due in part to the absurd



[1] The *nava-bheda* of astrologers is best described in e followithng words of Alberuni (Sachau, I, pp. 296-298):—

"Astronomers and astrologers divide the directions according to the lunar stations. Therefore the country, too, is divided according to the lunar stations, and the figure which represents this division is similar to a tortoise. Therefore it is called *Kūrma-chakra*, *i.e.*, the tortoise circle or the tortoise shape. The diagram given above is from the *Saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira.

Varāha calls each of the *navakhaṇḍa* a *Varga*. He says: 'By them (the *Vargas*) Bhāratavarsha is divided into nine parts, the central one, the eastern, etc.' Another astronomer who described the *navakhaṇḍa* is Parāśara. The Purāṇic compilers apparently borrowed the *Kūrma-niveśa* section from astronomical works.

attempt to make the shape of India conform to that of a tortoise (*Kūrma*) lying out-spread and facing eastwards, the divisions themselves are of a geographical character being based on the points of the compass.

The most accurate account, however, from the purely geographical point of view, of the main territorial divisions of India, is that contained in the verses of the *Nadyādi-varṇana* section which describe the seven regions of 'Kumārî Dvīpa'[1] *viz.*, the Madhyadeśa, Udîchya, Prāchya, Dakshiṇāpatha, Aparānta, the Vindhyan region, and the 'Parvatāśrayin' or Himālayan region.

[1] *Cf. tairidaṁ Bhāratam Varshaṁ saptakhaṇḍaṁ kṛitaṁ purā Brahmāṇḍa*, 34.64).

The primary division was into five great regions which are already met with in the *Atharva Veda* (XIX. 17.1-9) and the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII. 14). This division was adopted by Buddhist writers and authors like Rājaśekhara.

CHAPTER IX

The Mountain System of the Purāṇas

The entire mountain system of the world, as conceived by Purāṇic writers, centres round Meru which is supposed to stand in the middle of Ilâvṛita, the most centrally situated and highly elevated subcontinental region (*varsha*) of Jambūdvîpa, the innermost of the great island-continents of the world, which is said to be surrounded on all sides by the sea of salt.[1] The terraqueous globe, as is well known, is described by ancient Hindu cosmographers as comprising seven concentric islands (*Saptadvîpā Vasundharā*)[2] separated by encircling seas which are likewise seven in number. The innermost of these *dvîpas* is Jambūdvîpa. It is described as low on the south and north, and highly elevated in the middle.[3] On the southern half of the elevated ground are three sub-continents (*varsha*), *viz.*, Bhārata, Kimpurusha and Harivarsha. On the north, too, are three, *viz.*, Ramyaka, Hiraṇmaya and Uttara Kuru. Ilāvṛita is situated between those halves, and is said to be shaped like the half moon. East of it is Bhadrāśva and west is Ketumâla. Meru, "the mountain of gold," stands in the middle of Ilâvṛita.

Below the central mountain are, we are told, the four *Vishkambha Parvatas* ("subjacent hills"):—Mandara on the east, Gandhamādana on the south, Vipula on the west and Supārśva on the north.

[1] *Agni Purāṇa*, Chs. 107-108; *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Ch. 54. Pargiter's trans., p. 275 f.

[2] *Saptadvîpā Vasumatî* (Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya*, Kielhorn's edition, 1. 9).

[3] *Dakshiṇottarato nimnā madhye tuṅgāyatā kshitiḥ, Mārk P.* 54. 12).

Each of the northern and southern *varshas* has its own sub-continental range (*varsha-parvata*). Three of the *varsha-parvatas viz.*, Nîla, the *parvata* of Ramyaka, Sveta (or Sukla), the *parvata* of Hiraṇmaya or Svetavarsha[1], and Sṛiṅgî, (Sṛiṅgavat or Triśṛiṅga),[2] the *parvata* of Uttara Kuru,[3] lie to the north of Meru. Three others, *viz.*, Nishadha, the *parvata* of Harivarsha, Hemakūṭa, the *parvata* of Kimpurushavarsha and Himavat, the *parvata* of Bhārata, Himāhvaya or Haimavatavarsha[4] lie to its south.[5] These *Varsha-parvatas* seem to be conceived as parallel ranges stretching east and west and extending into the ocean.[6] Their number is stated to be six. But the inclusion of Meru, the mountain of the central *Varsha*, raises the total number to seven.[7]

[1] *Agni* P. 107. 7, Svetavarsha is apparently the Sveta Dvîpa of the Nārāyaṇîya story. *Mbh.*, VI. 8, associates Sveta with 'Ramaṇaka', (*Cf.* Rymmik of Ptolemy, Majumdar Sāstriś ed. 286) and Nîla with Hiraṇmaya. *Cf.* also Seal, *Vaishṇavism* p. 47f.

[2] *Mārk. P.* 54. 9; *Mbh.* VI. 6.4 ff; *Agni. P.* 108.26.

[3] Airāvatavarsha according to the *Mbh.* VI. 6. 37;8. 11. The *Mahābhārata* places Uttarakuru to the south of Nîla and on the border of Meru (*Mbh.* VI. 7.2). Referring to the northernmost region the Great Epic says, "*na tatra Sūryastapati.*" The *Rāmāyaṇa* also tells us (IV. 43.55) "*Sa tu deśo visuryopi tasya bhāsāprakāśate.*" N. Das and Seal find here a reference to the Aurora Borealis.

[4] *Agni P.* 107.5; *Brahmāṇḍa*, 35.30. In *Mbh.* VI. 6.7 the name Haimavata is given to the *Kimpurushavarsha*—the Kinnarakhaṇḍa of Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Trans. III. 30.31. and of Sāhu Chhatrapati.

[5] *Agni P.* 107. 5-7; 10.8.5.

[6] *Samudrāntaḥ pravishṭāścha sadasmin Varshaparvatāḥ* (*Mārk. P.* 54.12).

Prāgāyatā suparvāṇaḥ sadîme Varshaparvatāḥ.

avagāḍhāḥ ubhayataḥ samudrau pūrvapaśchimau,—*Brahmāṇḍa*, 35.18; *Padma*, Svarga, 2.22; *Mbh.* VI. 6.3.

[7] *Hîmavān Hemakūṭaścha Ṛishabho* (variant *Nishadho*) *Merureva cha.*

Nîlaḥ Svetas tathā Sringî saptāsmin Varshaparvatāḥ (*Mārk. P.* 54.9).

In addition to the *Varsha-parvatas* which mark off the northern, central and southern *varshas* from each other and, in some cases, actually give the subcontinents their distinctive names,[1] every *varsha* has seven principal ranges styled *Kula parvata*[2] (group-mountain or clan-mountain), besides a number of smaller hills (*kshudra parvatāḥ*)[3] which are situated near these (*bhūdharāḥ ye samîpagāḥ*). The names of the Kulaparvatas of Bhāratavarsha are thus given in the *Great Epic* and the *Purāṇas* :—

Mahendro Malayaḥ Sahyaḥ Śuktimān Riksha parvataḥ
Vindhyaścha Pāripātraścha saptaivātra Kulâchalâḥ.[4]

The four outlying subcontinents, *viz.*, Bhadrāśva, Ketumâla, Bhārata and Uttara Kuru are marked off from Ilâvṛita and other inner *varshas* by a group of ranges styled *Maryādā parvatas* (boundary mountains.).[5] These are eight in number, *viz.*, Jaṭhara and Devakūṭa on the east side of Meru, separating the central *varsha* (Ilâvṛita) from Bhadrāśva ;[6] Nishada (No. 2) and Pāripātra (No. 2) on the west, separating Ilâvṛita from Ketumâla ; Kailâsa and Himavat on the south marking off Bhārata from the central *Varshas* ; Śṛiṅgavat and Jārudhi (or Rudhira)[7] on the north cutting off Uttara Kuru from the rest of Jambūdvîpa.

[1] *Cf.* the names Meruvarsha (*Mārk.* 59), Śvetavarsha (*Agni.* 107), the Haimavatavarsha (*Brahmāṇḍa*, 35).

[2] *Sarveshvetcshu Varsheshu sapta sapta Kulāchalâḥ. Agni.* 108.32. According to the *Mārk P.* Bhadrāśva has five Kulâchalas; but Ketumâla, like Bhārata, has seven (Ch. 59). According to Hopkins, *Epic, Mythology*, 9n. The "Seven mountains, known as *doors* of heaven, appear in Vedic literature" (Ts. 3.12.2.9; 6.2.4.3).

[3] *Mārk.* 59-5.

[4] *Mbh.* VI. 9.11, *Mārk.* 57.10.

[5] *Bhāratāḥ Ketumālâścha Bhadrāśvāḥ Kuravastathā.*
Patrāṇi lokapadmasya Maryādāśaila bāhyataḥ.—*Agni*, 108. 22-23.

[6] *Mārk.* 54. 22-26; 59. 3-4.

[7] *Agni*, 108. 26.

The distinction between the *Maryādā parvatas* and the *Varsha parvatas* is not easily understood, and some of the former, notably Himavat and Śriṅgavat (=Śriṅgî) actuālly figure as *Varsha parvatas*. It is, however, to be noted that the name *Maryādā parvatas* is given to mountains on *all* sides of Meru which separate the central *varsha* or *varshas* from the four outermost sub-continents. *Varsha parvatas*, on the other hand, include Meru itself and the ranges separating the northern and southern (but not the eastern and western)[1] *varshas* from one another. All of them, with the exception of Meru, are represented as running from east to west and extending to the sea. That there is overlapping in regard to the northernmost and southernmost ranges is what may naturally be expected. The innermost *Varsha parvatas*, *viz.*, Nîla and Nishadha, lying immediately to the north and south of Meru, join two other ranges, *viz.*, the Mālyavat and Gandhamādana (No. 2) which are associated with the eastern and western *Maryādā parvatas* respectively, and completely shut off Ilâvṛita from the rest of the world.[2] They are the *Quadrangular mountains* referred to by Alberuni.[3]

There is much that is fabulous in the Purānic account summarised above. The division of the globe into seven concentric islands is of course, entirely imaginary, though

[1] The number of *Varshas* seems to have been originally seven (*sapta Varshāni*, *Mbh.* VI. 6.53). The inclusion of Bhadrāśva and Ketumāla afterwards raised the number to nine. *Cf.* Nîlakaṇṭha, "*atraiva kechid Bhadrāśva Ketumālayor varshāntaratvam prakalpya Navavarshān-ityāchakshate.*"

[2] *Ain-i-Akbari*, III, pp. 30-31. *Cf. Mārk.* 54. 22-23.

[3] "In the east the Mālyavant (parallel to Jaṭhara and Devakūṭa?), in the north Ānîla (*sic*), in the west the Gandhamādana (parallel to Nishadha No. 2, and Pāripātra?), and in the south the Nishadha (No. 1)".—Alberuni, I, 248. *Cf. Mbh.* VI. 6.9 *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, Ch. 45.

some of these *dvîpas* refer to real countries inhabited by historic peoples.[1] The description of the earth as low on the south and north, and highly elevated in the middle, and the account of the *Varsha parvatas* and the *Maryādā parvatas* given above, may, on the other hand, have been based upon stories recounted by travellers and traders, pilgrims and exploros, about the orographical features of Middle Asia—the great plateau in its centre, and the hills and mountains which intersect it, marking off the table-lands from one another and from the level plains watered by the Ganges, the Oxus (*Vaṁkshu*)[2] and other streams. But the details, as given in the *Purāṇas,* are too fantastic and conventional to accord with reality ; and there is reason to believe that some of the so-called *Varsha parvatas* were in fact parts of the Himālayan chain which poetic fancy transformed into mounts of gold and classed as independent and parallel ranges haunted by supernatural beings who enjoyed eternal felicity.[3] Alberuni, for example, tells us that Meru is in Himavat and cites the authority of Āryabhaṭa in support of this view.[4] He further informs us that Mount Nishadha is close to the pond Vishṇupada

[1] Śākadvîpa, for example, undoubtedly refers to a part of Irān (Seistan?). The *Brahma Purāṇa* (Ch. 20. 71 f.) and the *Agni Purāṇa* (119. Ch. 21) refer to the *Maga Brāhmaṇas* who inhabit the *Dvîpa* and worship *Sūryarūpadharo Hariḥ.* Kuśadvīpa may refer to the country of the Kushāṇas.

[2] *Ketumâlamato Varshaṁ nibodha mama paśchimaṁ...........*
ye pibanti mahānadyo Raṁkshuṁ (Vaṁkshuṁ) Syāmāṁ Sakambalâm. Mārk. 59. 12-15).

[3] *Cf. Ilâvṛitasya madhye tu Meruḥ Kanakaparvataḥ—Mārk.* 54. 14; *Brahmāṇḍa,* 35, 15f.; 44.2f.; *Agni,* 107.9f.; *Alberuni,* I. 147; *Mbh.* VI. 6. 10f. The association of Meru with the "*Bālukārṇava*" to the north of the Himavat (*Mbh.* XVII. 1-2) suggests that the Purāṇic writers understood by Ilāvṛita a region not far from the desert of Gobi. *Cf.* also "Poh-lu-ka" of Yuan Chwang (I. p. 64f.).

[4] *Alberuni,* 1. 246.

whence comes the river Sarasvatî.[1] The contiguity of Nishadha to the source of the Sarasvatî leaves no room for doubt that it, too,must have really been connected with the Himālayan chain. According to Pargiter, Hemakūṭa was "a mountain or group of mountains in the Himālayas in the western part of Nepal."[2] Thus many of the so-called Varsha parvatas merge in the Himavat range which is the one great mountain chain connected with the plateau of Central Asia about which we have some authentic details in our ancient literature.

The oldest designation of the range is Himavat—the Imaos of classical writers. The current name Himālaya is first met with in the *Bhagavad Gītā* and the works of Kālidāsa, though some scholars equate it with 'Sīmalia,' queen of snow mountains, known to the ancient Babylonians.[3]

The **Himavat** had a wider denotation in ancient times. This is made clear by all our ancient authorities, Indian as well as Greek. A passage of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* says—"such is this country Bhārata, constituted with a fourfold conformation. On its south and west and east is the great ocean, the Himavat range stretches along on its north, like the string of a bow."[4] Referring to this passage Pargiter observes, "this implies that the Himavat range included also the Sulaiman Mountains along the west of the Pañjāb. The simile must refer to a drawn bow, with the string angular in the middle." That the Himavat included the

[1] *Alberuni*, II, 142.

[2] *Mārk*. P., p. 360. Kailāsa, too, stands *Himavataḥ pṛishṭhe* (*Matsya*, 121, 2).

[3] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 76.

[4] *etattu Bhāratam̐ Varsham̐ chatuḥ saṃsthāna-sam̐sthitam.*

dakshiṇāparato hyasya pūrvena cha mahodadhiḥ,

Himavānuttareṇāsya kārmukasya yathā gunaḥ.

(*Mārk*. 57-59).

Sulaiman range is also proved by those passages which say that it stretched from the eastern to the western ocean, and that the city of Pushkarāvatī (in the Peshāwār District) adorned it like a garland.[1] The classical writers, too, describe the Imaos as the source not only of the Indus and the Ganges, but also of the Koa (Kābul river) and the Souastos (Swat).[2] This leaves no room for doubt that the western part of the range embraced the contiguous hills of Kābulistān.

The intimate acquaintance of the ancient Hindu writers with the Himavat is proved by frequent references to peaks like the Mūjavat or Muñjavat,[3] Trikakud (or Trikakubh)[4] and Saurya.[5] From Mūjavat came the famous plant, Soma, and from Trikakud came the salve *Añjana*. Parts of the

[1] *Avagāḍhā hyubhayataḥ Samudrau pūrvapaśchimau*
(*Mbh. VI. 6. 3*).
Kailāso Himavāṁśchaiva dakshiṇena mahābalau
pūrva-paśchāyatāvetāvarṇavāntar vyavasthitau.
(*Mārk P. 54. 24*).
astyuttarasyāṁ diśi devatātmā Himālayo nāmo nagādhirājaḥ
pūrvāparau toyanidhī vagāhya sthitaḥ pṛithivyā iva māndaṇḍaḥ,
(*Kumāra-sambhava I, 1*).
Maulīmālāṁ Himagirer nagarīṁ Pushkarāvatīm.
(*Kathāsaritsāgara, 37-82*).
asti Prāleya-śailāgre nagarī Pushkarāvatī. (*ibid., 37-22*).
nisīthe cha Himādrau tāmanurāgaparā pituḥ
purīṁ Vidyādharapateḥ prāptavān Pushkarāvatīm.
(*ibid., 37-180*).

[2] Ptolemy, VII. 1. 26 (Majumdar-Sastri's ed., p. 81).

[3] See *Vedic Index* and *Mbh.* XIV. 8. 1.

[4] *Vedic Index*, *Matsya*, 121. 15. Cf. the three peaked sacred mountain about 20 miles north of Jammu mentioned by Carmichael Smyth (*A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, 252; Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power, ch. 3.*)

[5] Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya*, Kielhorn's ed., I, p. 150: '*Saurye nāma Himavataḥ śriṅge.*'

great chain remained, however, unexplored, and the deficiency of knowledge was made up by legends about Mahā-Meru, Maināga Krauñcha and Manoravasarpana which we come across already in the later Vedic period.[1]

As already stated, Bhārata, like other *Varshas*, is described in the *Purāṇas* as being adorned by a number of comparatively small ranges, besides the mighty *Varsha-parvata* on its north. These are styled **Kulāchalas** or **Kulaparvatas**. In the account of these mountains we reach the *terra firma* of solid facts. The *Kulaparvatas* are seven in number, *viz.*, Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Śuktimān, Ṛiksha, Vindhya and Pāripātra or Pāriyātra. They are placed by Rājaśekhara in that part of Bhāratavarsha which was known as Kumārī-Dvīpa.[2]

The meaning of the word *Kula-parvata* or *Kulāchala* is not explained in the *Bhuvana-kosha* or geographical section of the *Purāṇas*. Some such group of mountains must have been known to Ptolemy who speaks of the Apokopa, Sardonyx, Ouïndion, Bettigo, Adeisathron, Ouxenton, Oroudian, Bepyrrhos, Maiandros, Damassa and Somanthinos ranges.[3] Ouïndion, Adeisathron, Ouxenton and Maiandros clearly sound like Vindhya, Sahyādri,

[1] The first three are mentioned in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* and the last one in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. See the *Vedic Index*. *Cf*. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, 43. 27 f.

[2] *Kāvya Mīmāṁsā*, *Deśavibhāga*: "*Tatredaṁ Bhārataṁ Varsham. Asya cha navabhedāḥ......Kumārī Dvīpaśchāyaṁ navamaḥ......Atra cha Kumārīdvīpe,*

Vindhyaścha Pāripātraścha Śuktimān Ṛikshaparvataḥ
Mahendra-Sahya-Malayāḥ saptaite Kulaparvatāḥ (p. 92).

[3] Ptolemy, VII. i, 19-25; ii, 8. Apokopa has been identified by scholars with the Aravalli mountains, Sardonyx with Sātpurā, Ouïndion with Vindhya, Bettigo with Malaya (Tamil Podigai), Adeisathron with the Western Ghāṭs in which the Kāverī rises, Ouxenton with the Ṛiksha, Oroudian with the Vaidūrya (northern

Ṛikshavat and Mahendra respectively, though by strange errors of information the Western geographer was made to misplace most of them, notably the Mahendra range, which, along with Tosali and Triliṅga, is located in India *extra Gangem*. Bettigo is, as we shall see later on, the Greek equivalent of Podigai, the Tamil name of the Malaya. It is thus clear that Ptolemy knew most, if not all, of the *Kula-parvatas*. But the distinctive nomenclature of the group is not found in his work. It is, however, constantly met with in the epic and the post-epical literature of the Hindus, and is apparently hinted at by that acute foreign observer, Alberuni, who speaks of the "great knots" of Mount Meru, *viz.*, Mahendra, Malaya, etc.[1]

The word *Kula* has the meaning of race, country or tribe.[2] And it is significant that each *Kula-parvata* is particularly associated with a distinct country or tribe. Thus Mahendra is the mountain *par excellence* of the Kaliṅgas,[3] Malaya of the Pāṇḍyas,[4] Sahya of the Aparāntas,[5]

section of the Western Ghāṭs), Bepyrrhos (Vipula?) and Damassa with the Eastern Himālayas, Maiandros with the Yuma chain of Arakan, and Semanthinos with the "extreme limit of the world" (S. N. Majumdar-Sastri's *Ptolemy*, pp. 76-81, 204-207).

[1] Alberunī, Ch. 23 (p. 247); Ch. 25 (p. 257).

[2] See Āpte's Dictionary.

[3] *Cf. Raghuvaṁśa* vi. 53-54, where the king of Kaliṅga is called "*Asau Mahendrādrisamānasāraḥ patir Mahendrasya mahodadheś-cha,*" *cf.* also the Chicacole grants of Indravarvan (*Ind. Ant.*, xiii 120-123).

[4] *Cf.* the epithets 'Malaya-dhvaja' and 'Podiyaverpan' given to the Pāṇḍya king in the *Mahābhārata* (viii. 20. 20, 21) and Tamil literature (Hultzsch in *Ind. Ant.*, 1889, 204 f) respectively.

[5] *Cf. Raghuvaṁśa*, iv. 52-59.

Suktimat of the people of Bhallāṭa,[1] Ṛiksha of the people of Māhishmatî,[2] Vindhya of the Āṭavyas and other forest folk of central India,[3] and Pāripātra or Pāriyātra of the Nishādas.[4]

Mahendra is frequently mentioned in literature and inscriptions. On it stood the hermitage of Rāma (Jāmadagnya).[5] It is said to have been conquered by epic heroes like Raghu[6] and also historical kings like Gautamîputra Śātakarṇi[7] and Samudra Gupta.[8] It is said to have formed the southern boundary of the empire which Yaśodharman claims to have subdued.[9] On its "pure summit" was established the holy Gokarṇa-svāmî whose feet were worshipped by Indravarman and other kings of Kaliṅga-nagara.[10] Pargiter[11] identifies the Mahendra range with the portion of the Eastern Ghāṭs between the Godāvarî and the Mahānadî rivers, part of which near Ganjam, as pointed

[1] *Bhallāṭamabhito jigye Suktimantaṁ cha parvatam* (*Mbh.* 1 I. 30. 5 f).

[2] *Mahāśmasaṅghātavatî Ṛikshavantam upāśritā*
Māhiśmatî nāma purî prakāśamupayāsyati
(*Harivaṁśa, Vishṇuparva*, 38. 19).

[3] *Āṭavyāḥ Śavarāścha ye*
Pulindā Vindhya-Mauleyā Vaidarbhā Daṇḍakaiḥ saha.
(*Matsya*, 114. 46-48, *Vāyu* 45.126; *Mārk.* 57.47, etc.).

[4] *Kāyavyo nāma Naishādiḥ . . . . . Pāriyātracharaḥ sadā* (*Mbh.* xii. 135. 3-5).

[5] *Mahendrādrau Rāmaṁ drishṭvābhivādya cha* (*Bhāgavata*, x. 79).

[6] *Sriyam Mahendranāthasya jahāra na tu medinîm* (*Raghu.* iv. 43).

[7] Rapson, *Andhra Coins*, p. xxxiv.

[8] Fleet, *Corpus*, III, p. 7.

[9] *A-Lauhity-opakaṇṭhāt tāla-vana-gahan-opatyakād-āMāhendrāt* (*ibid.*, 146).

[10] *Int. Ant.*, xiii, 120 f.

[11] *Mārk.* p. 284.

out by Wilson,[1] is still called Mahindra Malei or hills of Mahindra. The restriction of the name Mahendra to the *ghāṭs* on the north of the Godāvarî, seems to be supported by (*a*) the intimate association of the range with the Kaliṅga country, (*b*) the names of the rivers issuing from it—the Ṛishikulyā (which flows past Ganjam), the Vaṁśadharā (which has Kaliṅgapatam on its banks) and the Lāṅgulinî or Lāṅgulîya (on which stands Chicacole),[2] and (*c*) the lines of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* which clearly place Mahendrādri between '*Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama*' and '*Sapta-Godāvarî*.'[3]

But the restriction suggested by these lines is not always observed by our ancient writers as the following passages of the *Rāmāyaṇa* would seem to indicate :—

yuktaṁ kapāṭaṁ Pāṇḍyānāṁ gatā drakshyatha vānarāḥ
tataḥ samudramāsādya sampradhāryārtha-niśchayam
Agastyenāntare tatra sāgare viniveśitaḥ
chitrasānur-nagaḥ śrîmān Mahendraḥ parvatot-tamaḥ
jātarūpamayaḥ śrîmānavagāḍho mahārṇavam.
(*Kishk*. 41. 18-20.)

taṁ Sahyaṁ samatikramya Malayañcha mahāgirim

[1] *Vishṇu*, II, iii n.

[2] *Mārk*. P., Ch. 57.

[3] *Gayāṁ gatvā pitṛînishṭvā Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgame*
upaspṛiśya Mahendrādrau Rāmaṁ dṛishṭvābhivādya cha
Sapta Godāvarîṁ Venvāṁ Pampāṁ Bhîmarathîṁ tataḥ
(*Bhāg*. P., x. 79).

Mahendramatha samprāpya Rāmo rājīvalochanaḥ
āruroha mahābāhuḥ śikharaṁ drumabhūshitam
tataḥ śikharamāruhya Rāmo Daśarathātmajaḥ
kūrma-mīna-samākīrṇam apaśyat salilāśayam
āsedurānupūrvyeṇa samudraṁ bhīmaniḥsvanam
(*Laṅkā*, 4. 92-94.)

In the *Sundara Kāṇḍa* "Mount Mahendra is said to have the foam of the sea collected about it, though Velāvana may have intervened between it and the sea."[1] Pargiter regards the Mahendra of the *Rāmāyaṇa* as altogether distinct from Mahendra of the *Purāṇas*, and identifies the former with the most southerly spur of the Travancore hills. There is actually in the Tinnevelly District a mountain called Mahendragiri[2] which ends abruptly, and is the last of the Tinnevelly ghāṭs. But though the name Mahendragiri is now applied to two distinct hills in Ganjam and Tinnevelly respectively, there is no reason to think that any such distinction was intended by the poet of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. On the contrary, the position of Mahendra in relation to Malaya and Sahya, as described in the passage quoted from the *Laṅkākāṇḍa*, leaves little room for doubt that 'Mahendra' of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is the famous *Kula-parvata* of the same name mentioned in the *Bhuvana-kosha* in juxtaposition with Malaya and Sahya, and that it embraced the entire chain of hills extending from Ganjam to Tinnevelly.

Malaya is, next to the Himavat, perhaps the most famous mountain in Sanskrit literature. It gives its name to the cooling breeze of the south which finds frequent mention in Indian poetry.[3] Sanskrit writers refer to it

[1] Pargiter, *The Geography of Rāma's Exile*, JRAS, 1894, pp. 261-62.

[2] *Gaz. of Tinnevelly Dist.*, Vol. I, by H. R. Pate, 1917, p. 4.

[3] In Dhoyi's *Pavanadūta*, the breeze of Malaya carries a love message from a Gandharva maiden of the Far South to Kin-

also as Śrîkhaṇḍādri, Chandanādri or Chandanāchala.[1] The Tamil name is Podigei or Podigai, the original of the Bettigo of Ptolemy.[2]

Like Mahendra, Malaya figures also in inscriptions (*e.g.*, the Nāsik Praśasti of Gautamîputra Śātakarṇi) though not so prominently as in literature.

Malaya is the hill *par excellence* of the Pāṇḍyas,[3] as Mahendra is of the Kaliṅgas, and Sahya that of the Aparāntas. The name is connected with the Dravidian word 'Mala' or 'Malei' meaning 'hill.'[4] From it are derived the designations of the country of Mo-lo-kü-t'a referred to by Hiuen Tsang, and the language called Malayalam spoken by the people of 'Mālabār'. The names of the rivers issuing from this *Kula-parvata*, *viz.*, Kṛitamālā

Lakshmaṇa-sena of Bengal. '*Malayajaśîtalā*' is an epithet which is applied to his motherland by a great Bengali writer of recent times.

Malaya is the mountain where, according to the *Rāmopākhyāna* (*Mbh.* iii. 281.44 f.), the monkey host, sent by Sugrîva in quest of Sîtā, saw the vulture Sampāti, and from it Hanumat made his famous descent on Laṅkā. It should, however, be noted that in the *Rāmāyaṇa* the Vindhya is mentioned in connection with Sampāti, and the Mahendra in connection with the exploit of Hanumat.

According to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (x. 79) the hermitage of Agastya stood on the summit of Malaya.

[1] See Dhoyi's *Pavanadūta*.

[2] McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, 1927, 78.

[3] According to Dhoyi the Pāṇḍyadeśa lay at a distance of only 4 miles from Śrîkhaṇḍādri, *i.e.*, the Malaya Hills.

Śrîkhaṇḍādreḥ parisaram atikramya gavyūtimātram
gantavyaste kimapi jagati maṇḍanaṁ Pāṇḍyadeśaḥ.

As already stated the Pāṇḍya king had the epithet Malayadhvaja.

[4] Hultzsch in *Ind. Ant.*, 1889, 240 f. Also IA, vii. 277.

or Vaigai (on which stands Madurā or Dakshiṇa Mathurā[1]), and Tāmraparṇî (on which stood Korkai or Kolkoi, and Kāyal, three miles lower down the river), enabled scholars to identify it with the portion of the Western Ghāṭs (south of the Kāverî) from the Nilgiris to the neighbourhood of Cape Comorin,[2] with the exception of the most southerly spur of the Travancore Hills. The king of the Pāṇḍyas is referred to in literature as the lord of the Malaya (*cf.* Podiya-verpan of Tamil literature and Malayadhvaja of the *Mahābhārata*[3]) just as the king of Kaliṅga receives the epithet of Mahendranātha.

Sahya, like Mahendra and Malaya, finds mention in the Nāsik Praśasti of Gautamîputra Śātakarṇi. In the Alina copper-plate inscription of Śîlāditya VII of Valabhî, it is probably associated with the Vindhya, the two being mentioned as the breasts of the earth.[4] Kālidāsa describes it as "*nitambamiva medinyāḥ*" (*Raghu.*, iv. 52), and connects it with the Aparāntas, *i.e.*, the people of Western India, and particularly of the Koṅkaṇ.[5] The *Purāṇas*

[1] *Dakshiṇa Mathurā āilā Kāmakoshṭhi haite,*
tāhā dekhā haila eka Brāhmaṇa sahite,
sei vipra Mahāprabhur kaila nimantraṇa
Rāmabhakta sei vipra virakta mahājana,
Kṛitamālāya snāna kari āilā tāṅra ghare.

Chaitanya-Charitāmṛita, Madhyalīlā, Ch. ix. p. 141.
(*Cf.* N. Dey)

[2] Pargiter, *Mārk. P.* 285.

[3] Kālidāsa, too, testifies to the intimate connection between 'Malayādri' and the Pāṇḍyas (*cf. Raghu.*, iv. 46.49). In *Raghu.*, iv. 51, Malaya is associated with Dardura—*stanāviva diśastasyāḥ śailau Malaya-Darddurau.*

[4] Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, pp. 176, 184.

[5] 'Aparānta' has a wider and a narrower denotation. In its wider sense it means all India lying west of the Madhyadeśa; in the narrower sense only the Koṅkaṇ.

describe it as the source of the Godāvarî and its tributary, the Vañjulā or Mañjirā; the Kṛishṇaveṇā or Kṛishṇā and its tributaries the Bhîmarathî or Bhîmā and the Tuṅgabhadrā; the Suprayogā probably in Nellore and the Kāverî. It has, therefore, been correctly identified with the northern portion of the Western Ghāṭs from the Tāptî down to the Nilgiris. Ptolemy apparently divides it into two parts. To the northern part—the source of the river of Masulipatam (Maisolos), *i.e.*, the Godāvarî or the Kṛishṇā,—he gives the name of the Oroudian mountains.[1] The name is considered to be equivalent to 'Vaidūrya' of Sanskrit literature, which the *Mahābhārata* associates with the rivers Payoshṇî and Narmadā.[2] The southern part of the Sahya is known to Ptolemy as the Adeisathron range, and is described by him as the source of the Khaberos (Kāverî).[3]

The **Śuktimat** is the least known among the mountain ranges of Ancient India.[4] According to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* it is the source of the Ṛishikulyā, the Kumārî, the Mandagā, the Mandavāhinî, the Kṛipā and the Palāśinî. Variant names of the rivers are given in some of the other *Purāṇas* including the *Vāyu* copy consulted by Alberuni.[5] The *Vāmana Purāṇa* omits these altogether, and mentions the Śunî and Sudāmā among rivers issuing from the

[1] Ptolemy, vii. 1.37, Majumdar-śāstrī's ed., pp. 81, 103.

[2] *Mbh.* iii. 121. 16-19:

sa Payoshṇyāṁ naraśreshṭhaḥ snātvā vai bhrātṛibhiḥ saha
Vaidūrya-parvatañchaiva Narmadāñcha mahānadîm
Vaidūrya-parvataṁ dṛishṭvā Narmadām avatîrya cha

[3] Ptolemy, vii, 1.35.

[4] It is the only *Kula-parvata* which is not referred to in the Nāsik Praśasti of Gautamîputra Sātakarṇi. Kālidāsa, too, ignores it in the account of Raghu's conquests.

[5] *Kūrma, Pūrvabhāga*, 46. 38-49; *Matsya*, 114. 32. Alberuni, i. 257 (Ch. XXV).

Śuktimat range. Further it confounds the rivers of Śukti with those rising in the Malaya.[1] In view of all this confusion it is difficult to say which rivers actually issue from the Śuktimat. The uncertainty in regard to the names of most of the rivers renders their identification difficult, and makes the precise location of the parent range almost a hopeless task. Abul Fazl seems to regard the Śuktimat (as well as the other *Kula-parvatas*) as running from east to west, and makes it the dividing line between Kaser and Tāmravarṇa, two of the nine divisions of Bhārata.[2] But his account of the position of the *Nava-Khaṇḍa* and the seven mountains is, in the main, not borne out by any early Indian author, and is indeed in conflict with what is known about them from other sources.

According to Cunningham[3] Śuktimat is the mountain range to the south of the Sehoa and Kānker, which gives rise to the Mahānadî (=Śuktimatî according to him), the Pairi and the Seonath rivers, and forms the boundary between Chattisgarh and Bastar. Pargiter rejects this view as the great archaeologist's premises are unsafe and his conclusion confounds the Śuktimat with the Mahendra range. But it is by no means clear that the Mahendra range extended as far as the source of the Pairi and the Mahānadî. The really weak point in Cunningham's theory is the tacit assumption of a connection between Mount Śuktimat and the river Śuktimatî, and the identification of the latter with the Mahānadî. As a matter of fact, the Śuktimatî takes its rise, not from the Śuktimat, but from the Vindhyan chain, using the word Vindhyan in its wider sense. Cunningham does not stand alone in his view that the Śukti Mountain is the source of the Śuktimatî. Beglar,

[1] *Vāmana*, xiii. 32-33.

[2] *Ain-i-Akbari*, III, pp. 30-31.

[3] Pargiter, *Mārk. P.*, p. 285; *Arch. Survey Reports*, XVII, pp. 24, 69, and map at the end.

too, makes the same mistake. Identifying the Śuktimatî with the Sakri, a tributary of the Ganges (east of Gayā), the Ṛishikulyā with the Kiyul, another tributary of the Ganges, east of the Sakri, and the Kumārî with the Kaorhari, he places Mount Śuktimat in the north of the Hazaribagh District.[1] The identifications are rejected by Pargiter[2] who points out that the Śuktimatî is not connected with Mt. Śuktimat, that Sakri is not the equivalent of Śuktimatî, but of Śakulî and that the hills in the north of Hazaribagh, are not remarkable, being rather the termination of the Vindhya range than a separate system. The last objection is not quite valid because the Śuktimat, too, is not a remarkable range and is rarely mentioned in literature. It is the only *Kula-parvata* which does not find mention in the Nāsik Praśasti of Gautamîputra Śātakarṇi. As to the objection that the Hazaribagh hills are not a separate system it may be pointed out that the *Kula-parvata* Pāriyātra, too, is not a separate system, but part of the Vindhyan chain.

Pargiter was at first inclined to identify Śuktimat with either the Aravalli Mt. or the southern part of the Eastern Ghāts. But he finally preferred the Garo, Khāsi and Tipperah hills in Eastern India,[3] "for Bhîma in his conquests in that quarter marched from Himavat towards Bhallāṭa and conquered the Śuktimat Mountain," and "the river Lohita and the country Kāmarupa, were known." Pargiter ignores the fact that Bhîma did not cross the Lohita or Lauhitya (Brahmaputra). The identification of the rivers Kumārî and Kṛipā issuing from Śuktimat (with Someśvarî and Kapilî) suggested by him, is also hardly satisfactory.

[1] *Arch. S. R.*, VIII, pp. 124, 125.
[2] *Mārk. P.* (trans.), 285.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 306.

C. V. Vaidya identified the Śuktimat with the Kāthiāwāḍ range.[1] The Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman, no doubt mentions a Palāśinî as issuing from that range, and we know that Palāśinî is the name of one of the rivers rising in the Śukti Mountain. But the other rivers springing from the Śuktimat cannot be identified, and the evidence of the *Mahābhārata* points to some range between Indraprastha (Delhi) and Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) as the real Śuktimat.[2]

Dr. R. C. Majumdār[3] and Mr. Hārit Krishna Dev[4] propose to identify the Śuktimat with the Sulaiman range. We are told that the two names closely resemble each other, that Kūpā, one of the streams issuing from the Śuktimat, sounds very much like Kubhā (the Kābul river), and that Kumārî, Mandagā, Mandavāhinî, Palāśinî, Ṛishikulyā and Bhallāṭa with which Śukti is associated, are equivalent to Kunār, Helmand, Panjshir, Euaspla and Bhalanas respectively. It is further suggested that the epic list of places visited by Bhîma and his brothers was not drawn up strictly according to geographical position, and that, therefore, the evidence of the *Mahābhārata* cannot be a valid objection against the identity of Śukti with Sulaiman which is the only extensive range besides the Assam Hills, which has not been appropriated to the *Kula-parvatas* mentioned in the *Bhuvana-kosha*.

1 *Epic India*, p. 276.

2 The mountain is mentioned in the account of the *Digvijaya* of Bhîma who started from the Pāṇḍu capital and marched eastwards as far as the Lauhitya.

evaṁ bahuvidhān deśān vijigye Bharatarshabha
Bhallāṭamabhito jigye Śuktimantañcha parvatam.
(*Mbh.* ii. 30.5.)

3 *Pro. Second Oriental Conference*, 1923, p. 609 f.

4 *Ibid.*, p. ci; ZDMG, Leipzig, 1922, p. 281 n.

But the philological equations proposed above are, with one exception, hardly tenable.[1] As to the equation Kūpā = Kubhā, it is to be remembered that the form Kūpā occurring in the extant *Vāyu* (and *Brahmāṇḍa*), is not met with in the *Vāyu* text consulted by Alberuni. That text and many extant Purāṇas have Kirpā,[2] Kṛipā[3] or Kshiprā[4] which obviously cannot be equated with Kubhā. Moreover, we have actually a Kopā,[5] a Kumārî[6] and a Parās[7] (Palāśinî ?) in Eastern India. Whatever we may think of the evidence of the *Mahābhārata*, the fact should not be ignored that Sulaiman, as pointed out by Pargiter and shown in the early part of this chapter, was considered to be a portion of the Himavat, the *Varsha-parvata*. The *Kulaparvatas* are expressly stated by Rājaśekhara to be in the Kumārî Dvîpa whose furthest limit according to the *Skanda Purāṇa* was the Pāriyātra.[8] Further, if the

[1] Jayaswal, *Pro. Second Oriental Conference*, 1923, p. xliii.

[2] Alberuni, i. 257.

[3] *Matsya*, 114. 32.

[4] *Kūrma*, *Pūrvabhāga*, 46. 39.

[5] Or Sāl, a tributary of the Dvārakā or Bāblā (O'Malley, Birbhum, 1910, p. 5).

[6] The Kāsāi receives the waters of the Kumārî at Ambikānagar.

(O'Malley's Bankura, 1908, p. 7, *cf.* Coupland's Manbhum, 1911, p. 7.)

[7] M. G. Hallett, *Ranchi*, 1917, p. 6. It is a tributary of the 'Koel.' The name Koel, we are told, is a common designation for river in Chota Nāgpur. It may refer to the Ṛishikulyā which is also a common river-name in the *Purāṇas*, being the designation of at least two streams —one rising in the Mahendra and the other in the Suktimat. It is interesting to note that the Koel unites with the Saṅkh to form the Brāhmaṇî. In the *Purāṇas* Sankha and Sukti are associated together (*Mārk.* 58. 24—*Saṅkha-Suktyādi-Vaidūrya śailaprānta-charāścha ye*).

[8] *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Kumārikā-khaṇda*, Ch. 39. 113:

"*Pāriyātrasya chaivārvākkhaṇḍaṁ Kaumārikaṁ smṛitam,*"

Suktimat be really the mountain range which runs south from the Hindukush, is not the omission of the Suvāstu, Gomatî and Krumu from the list of its rivers rather inexplicable?

The really important clues in regard to the identity of the Suktimat are its association with Bhallāṭa and with 'Sankha' and "Vaidūrya śaila" (*Mārk.* 58. 24). The *Mahābhārata* as well as the *Jātakas* seems to connect Bhallāṭa with Kāsi.[1] The *Kalki Purāṇa*, while describing the march of a victorious army, mentions Bhallāṭa-nagara just before Kāñchanî purî, the hill-fortress of the Nāgas, which is doubtless identical with *'purîm Kāñchanikām'* governed by Pravîra, the son of Vindyāśakti, in the third century A.D.[2] A tribe called Phyllitai is mentioned by Ptolemy as living in Central India.[3] These indications would point to the central, and not the easternmost or north-western, part of India as the place where Bhallāṭa, and consequently Suktimat, were situated. And this accords with the Purāṇic evidence about the connection of Sukti with Saṅkha and Vaidūrya. The suggestion of N. Dās that the name Suktimat is preserved in the Suktel river which joins the Mahānadî, near Sonpur, and also in the Sakti Hills in Raigarh, C. P., seems plausible.[4] 'Sakti'

[1] *Mbh.* ii. 30. 5-7:
Bhallāṭamabhito jigye Suktimantaṁ cha parvatam
Pāṇḍavaḥ sumahāvîryo balena balināṁ varaḥ
sa Kāsirājaṁ samare Subāhum anivartinam
vaśe chakre mahābāhur Bhîmo bhîma-parākramaḥ,
Jātaka No.504 mentions a Bhallāṭîya as king of Benares.

[2] *Kalkî Purāṇa*, iii. 7. 36; iii. 14.3f.
Cf. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 50.

[3] Ptolemy, vii. 1.66. 'Phyllitai' sounds very much like Bhallāṭa. *Cf.* Bhallāta-Vāṭaka of a Nälanda seal, *MASI*, 66, p. 56.

[4] *A Note on the Ancient Geography of Asia compiled from Vālmîki's Rāmāyaṇa* (1896), p. 51. See also *Imp. Gaz.*, *Atlas* volume, Plate 39.

actually stands midway between 'Saṅkha' and Vaidūrya which the *Mahābhārata* places in the neighbourhood of the Payoshṇî and the Narmadā. The name Śuktimat was probably applied to the chain of hills that extends from Sakti in Raigarh, C. P., to the Dalma Hills in Manbhum drained by the Kumārî, and perhaps even to the hills in the Santhal Parganas washed by the affluents of the Bāblā.

Riksha and **Vindhya**

The great chain of mountains along the Narmadā, which separates Northern India from the Deccan, is probably mentioned in the *Kaushîtaki Upanishad* under the name of Dakshiṇa Parvata.[1] At the present day the whole range is known by the name of the Vindhyas. In the period of the epics and the *Purāṇas*, however, different parts of the range had distinctive names, and ranked as separate *Kula-parvatas*. These names were Ṛiksha, Vindhya (proper) and Pāriyātra or Pāripātra, all of which find mention in the Nāsik Praśasti of Gautamîputra Śātakarṇi.[2] The first two are referred to by Ptolemy as the Ouxenton (Ṛikshavant) and the Ouïndion (Vindhya) ranges.

The Ṛiksha is probably so called because it stood in a territory which abounded in bears (*ṛikshas*).[3] There is a good deal of confusion in the *Bhuvana-kosha* section of the *Purāṇas* between the two *Kula-parvatas*—Ṛiksha and Vindhya. While the *Vishṇu*, *Brahma*, and some other texts describe the former as the source of the Tāpî Payoshṇî

[1] *Kaush. Up.*, ii. 8.

[2] Rapson, *Andhra Coins*, p. xxxiii. The Prākṛita forms are Achavāta, Vijha and Parivāta.

[3] *Ṛikshadvîpi-samākulā.—Revākhaṇḍa*, vi. 36.

asti Pauravadāyādo Vidurathasutaḥ prabho
Ṛikshaiḥ saṁvarddhito vipra Ṛikshavatyatha parvate
—*Mbh.*, xii. 49. 76.

11SS11

and Nîrvindhyā, and the latter as the source of the Narmadā, Daśārṇā, etc., the *Kūrma, Matsya, Brahmāṇḍa, Vāmana* and *Vāyu* texts, including that known to Alberuni, reverse the order, making the Ṛiksha the source of the Narmadā, Daśārṇā, etc., and the Vindhya the source of the Tāpī or Tāptî group. The *Bhuvana-kosha* underwent such textual corruption even in the time of Alberuni that little reliance can be placed on it in determining the identity of the two *Kula-parvatas*, Ṛiksha and Vindhya.

No conclusion regarding the relative position of Ṛiksha and Vindhya can also be drawn from the constant association of the former with the Narmadā[1] and that of the latter with the Revā,[2] for, though the *Bhāgavata*[3] and the *Vāmana*

[1] *Ṛikshavantaṁ giriśreshṭhamadhyāste Narmadāṁ pivan*
(*Rām., Laṅk.*, 27. 9.)
puraścha paśchāchcha yathā mahānadî
tam Ṛikshavantaṁ girimetya Narmadā.
(*Mbh.*, xii. 52. 32).
sa Narmadā-rodhasi śîkarārdrair marudbhirānartitanaktamāle
niveśayāmāsa vilaṅghitādhvā kāntaṁ rajo dhūsaraketu sainyam
athoparishṭād bhramarair bhramadbhiḥ prāksūchitāntaḥsalila-praveśaḥ
nirdhauta-dānāmalagaṇḍabhittirvanyaḥ saritto gaja unmamajja
niḥśesha vikshālita dhātunāpi vaprakriyām Ṛikshavatastaṭeshu
nîlorddhvarekhā-śabalena śaṁsan dantadvayenāśma-vikuṇṭhitena.
(*Raghu, Ch.* 5, 42-44.)

[2] *Vindhyasyāvandhyakarmmā śikhara-taṭa-patat-pāṇḍu-Revāmbu-rāser* . . . . .
(*Fleet, C.I.I.*, 154.)
śrūyatāṁ dvija-śārdūlāḥ kāraṇaṁ yena kandaram
Vindhyasyehāgato ramyaṁ Revāvāri-kaṇokshitam.
(*Mārk. P.*, iv. 22.)
Revāṁ drakshyasyupalavishame Vindhyapāde viśîrṇām.
(*Meghadūta*, 19.)

[3] *Bhāgavata*, 5, 19. 17.

Purāṇas[1] seem to distinguish between the two rivers, the *Revā-khaṇḍa* regards them as one and the same,[2] a fact borne out also by incidental references in the *Bhāgavata* itself.[3]

More fruitul results may be obtained by an examination of the evidence of Ptolemy and the inscriptions, and certain *incidental* references in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas*, the *Harivaṁśa* and the commentary of Nîlakaṇṭha. It will be seen that the name Ṛiksha is invariably applied to the *central* part of the chain lying *north* of the Narmadā, while the *eastern* part together with the hills standing *south* of the Narmadā and extending as far as the ocean, bore the name of Vindhya. Ptolemy, for instance, describes the Ouxenton (Ṛikshavant) as the source of the Toundis, the Dosaron and the Adamas.[4] The identification of these rivers with the Brāhmaṇî, the Vaitaraṇî and the Suvarṇarekhā, has little to support it. Dosaron sounds very much like the Daśārṇā (modern Dhasan near Saugor in C. P.) which actually occurs in the list of rivers issuing from the Ṛiksha as given in many *Purāṇas*, including the *Vāyu* copy used by Alberuni. The position assigned to the mouth of the river by Ptolemy is no insuperable objection against the proposed identity, because the western geographer had a very wrong idea about the configuration of India, and many of its mountains and

[1] *Vāmana*, xiii 25-30.

[2] *kimarthaṁ Narmadā proktā*
Reveti cha kathaṁ smṛitā.
(*Revākhaṇḍa*, 5. 7. *Cf. Ind. And.*, 1887, 253.)
Narakāntakari Revā satîrthā viśvapāvanî
Narmadā dharmadā chāstu śarmadā Pārtha te sadā.
(*Ibid.*, 229. 28).

[3] *praviśya Revām agamad yatra Māhishmatîpurî* (*Bhāg.* x. 79). In the *Harivaṁśa* (*Vishṇu Parva*, 38. 14 f.) Narmadā is the name of the river which flows past Māhishmatî.

[4] Ptolemy, VII, i, 39-41.

rivers are 'hopelessly out of position.' [1] While the Ouxenton is connected with the Dosaron (Daśārṇā or Dhasan near Saugor), the Ouïndion (Vindhya) is represented as the source not only of the Namados (Narmadā) but also of the Nanagouna (Tāptî).[2] This proves that while the Ṛiksha lay in the region of the Central Vindhyas, near Saugor, the Vindhya proper, in the days of Ptolemy, comprised the chains at the source of the Narmadā and the Tāptī.

The connection of the Ṛiksha with the Central Vindhyas lying north of the Narmadā appears clear also from Indian evidence. Thus the *Vāyu Purāṇa*[3] represents a chief named Jyāmagha as crossing the Ṛiksha on his way from Narmadānūpa[4] to Śuktimatî, the capital of the Chedis, which lay to the north in the direction of the Yamunā. The *Harivaṁśa* refers to the city of Māhishmatî (Māndhāta?), the capital of Narmadānūpa, as nestling under the shelter of Mount Ṛikshavat (*Ṛikshavantam upāśritā*). Nîlakaṇṭha, commenting on the *Harivaṁśa, Vishṇuparva*, Chap. 38, verse 7,

Vindhy-arkshavantāvabhito
dve puryau parvatāśraye
niveśayatu yatnena
Muchukunda suto mama,

says '*Vindhyasyottarataḥ Ṛikshavato dakshiṇata ityarthaḥ*'. implying that the two cities mentioned in the verse lay *north* of the Vindhyas and *south* of the Ṛiksha. The

[1] *Cf.* Ptolemy, Majumdār-sastri's ed., p. 76.

[2] *Ibid.*, VII. i. 31-32, pp. 102-103. *Cf.* (*Tāpî nāma nadî cheyaṁ Vindhyamūlād viniḥsṛitā* (*Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa*, 11, 108).

[3] *Vāyu*, 95, 31.

[4] The district on the Narmadā of which Māhishmatî was the the capital (*Raghu*, vi. 37-43).

Bhāgavata places the hermitage of Atri on the Ṛiksha,[1] and we learn from the *Rāmāyaṇa* that Atri's hermitage lay not far from Chitrakūṭa.[2] The *Nalopākhyāna* of the *Mahābhārata* places the Ṛiksha mountain between Avantî and Dakshiṇāpatha.[3] On the other hand it expressly connects the Vindhya with the Payoshṇî[4]—a river of the Tapi or Tāptî group. The association of the Vindhya with the region to the south of the Narmadā testified to by Nîlakaṇṭha and the author of the *Nalopākhyāna* of the *Mahābhārata*, is further confirmed by the popular belief that Sātpurā means seven sons or seven folds of the Vindhya.[5] In the famous Mandasor stone inscription of Yaśodharman and Vishṇuvardhana we have reference to a tract of land, "containing many countries, which lies between the Vindhya (mountains), from the slopes of the summits of which there flows the pale mass of the waters of (the river) Revā, and the

[1] *Brahmaṇā choditaḥ srishṭāv-Atrir Brahmavidāṁ varaḥ*
saha patnyā yayāv-Rikshaṁ Kulādriṁ tapasi sthitaḥ
tasmin prasūnastavaka-palāśāśoka-kānane
vārbhīḥ sravadbhirudghushṭe Nirvindhyāyāḥ samantataḥ
(*Bhāgavata, IV*, i, 14-15)

This Nirvindhyā need not be the river of the same name belonging to the Tāpî group. There was another Nirvindhyā which lay on the way from Vidiśā (Besnagar near Bhilsa) to Ujjayinî (*Meghadūta*, i. 25-29).

[2] *Ramāyaṇa*, ii. 117. 5.

[3] *ete gacchhanti bahavaḥ panthāno Dakshiṇāpatham*
Avantiṁ Ṛikshavantañcha samatikramya parvatam.
Mbh., iii. 61. 21.)

[4] *esha Vindhyo mahāśailaḥ Payoshṇī cha samudragā.*
(*Mbh.*, iii. 61. 22.)

Cf. Prabhāsa-Khaṇḍa, 11-108, *cited above.*

[5] C. P. *Dist. Gaz.*, Betul, by Russell, 1907, p. 258. *Cf.* the name Indhyādri, given to the hills at Ajaṇṭā (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I. ii. 354), and "Bandah," *i.e.*, Vindhya (Gāwilgarh hills) in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, ii. 228.

mountain Pāriyātra, on which the trees are bent down in (their) frolicsome leaps by the long-tailed monkeys (and stretches) up to the ocean" (Sindhu).[1] If the Vindhya (when distinguished from the Pāriyātra) means the range east of Bhopal, as suggested by Pargiter, then the countries between it and the Pāriyātra must be inland territory which cannot be said to extend to the ocean, or even to the rivers called *Sindhu*. But if Vindhya includes the hills to the south of the Narmadā, then the region between it and the Pāriyātra does extend to the ocean. It would, however, be a mistake to think that the Vindhya lay *wholly* to the south of the Narmadā, because an inscription of Anantavarman Maukhari mentions that mountain as extending up to and including the Nāgārjunî Hill in the Gayā District.[2]

The question of the inclusion of the Amarakaṇṭaka mountain—the source of the Narmadā—presents a real difficulty. We have seen that Ptolemy makes it a part of the Ouïndion (Vindhya) range. But the *Revā-khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, with equal clearness, makes it a part of the Ṛiksha.[3] The truth seems to be that ancient Hindu writers commonly regarded Vindhya and Ṛiksha as interchangeable terms. But one fact is clear. While the name Vindhya was loosely applied to the whole chain of hills from Gujrāṭ to the Gayā District, lying on *both* sides of

[1] Fleet, *C.I.I.*, 154.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 227, 228.

[3] *tataḥ sā Ṛikshaśailendrāt phenapuñjāṭṭahāsinī*
vivesa Narmadā devī samudraṁ saritāmpatim
—*Revākhaṇḍa*, v. 51.

Śoṇo Mahānadaśchaiva Narmadā Surasā Kṛitā
Mandākinī Daśārṇā cha Chitrakūṭā tathaiva cha
Ṛikshapāda-prasutāstāḥ sarvā vai Rudra-sambhavāḥ
—*ibid*, iv. 46-48.

the Narmadā,[1] the Ṛiksha, when referred to incidentally in literature, is invariably associated with the Middle Narmadā region of which Māhishmatî was the most important city, and the Daśārṇā (Dhasan) a notable river. The Vindhya, when distinguished from the Ṛiksha, denotes the chain lying south of the Narmadā, as Nîlakaṇṭha suggests.

Pāriyātra. We now come to the Pāriyātra ("the mountains which curve around") or Pāripātra ("the mountains shaped like an enclosing receptacle") which marks, according to the *Skanda Purāṇa*, the furthest limit of *Kumārī Khaṇḍa*—the heart and centre of Bhārata-varsha. The earliest reference to the mountain is probably that contained in the *Dharma-Sūtra* of Bodhāyana, where it forms the boundary line between Āryāvarta and the land of the barbarians.[2] Even in the days of the *Mahābhārata* it was the favourite resort of one of the most important of the 'barbarian' tribes, *viz.*, the Nishādas.[3] The earliest epigraphic reference to it is probably that occurring in the Nāsik Praśasti of Gautamîputra Śātakarṇi. It also finds prominent mention in the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman and Vishṇuvardhana. The mountain apparently gave its name to the famous Po-li-ye-ta-lo or

[1] See particularly Ptolemy's association of the Ouïndion with both the Namados and the Nanagouna, and the *Harivaṃśa* verse ii. 38.20, '*ubhayor Vindhyayoḥ pāde nagayo stāṁ mahāpurîm,*' where we have reference to *two* Vindhyas, *viz.*, the Vindhya proper and the Ṛiksha. Note also the name 'Nir-Vindhyā,' *i.e.*, issuing out of the Vindhya, applied to rivers on both sides of the Narmadā. One of the Nirvindhyās is associated with Ujjayinî and Avantî and hence lay north of the Narmadā. Another belongs to the Tāpî-Payoshṇî group. *Cf.* also the Vindhya-dakshiṇa-pāda of the *Kāvya-Mîmāṁsā*, p. 94; and *Rāmāyaṇa*, iv. 52.

[2] I. i. 25: "*Prāgadarśanāt pratyak Kālakavanād dakshiṇena Himavantam udak Pāriyātram etad Āryāvartaṁ.*"

[3] *Mbh.*, xii. 135.3.5.

Pāriyātra,[1] country ruled by a Vaiśya king in the days of Hiuen Tsang. The names of the rivers issuing from it, *viz.*, the Mahî, Varṇāśā or Parṇāśā,[2] Charmaṇvatî, Siprā, Sindhu[3] and Vetravatî, clearly support the view of Pargiter that it corresponds to the portion of the modern Vindhya range west of Bhopal, together with the Aravalli mountains.

Besides the *Kula-parvatas*, the *Purāṇas* mention a number of smaller hills (**Kshudra-parvata**) which are situated near the former (*bhudharā ye samîpagāh*). They may be conveniently grouped under the following heads : —

(1) Hills associated with the Eastern Ghāṭs—*e.g.*, (*a*) Śrîparvata. In the *Agni Purāṇa* Śrîparvata is mentioned next after "Kāverī-saṅgamaḥ" (*Kāverī-saṅgamaṁ puṇyaṁ Śrīparvatamataḥ śṛiṇu*, cxiii, 3-4). "It overhangs the Krishṇā in the Karnool District" and is usually identified by scholars with Siriṭana of the *Nāsik Praśasti*. It was famous as the site of the Śaiva shrine of Mallikārjuna.

(*b*) Pushpagiri.—It lay eight miles to the north of Cuddapah.[4]

(*c*) Veṅkaṭa—It is in Draviḍa forming the boundary line between the Tamil and Telugu countries.[5]

[1] *Cf. Harsha-charita* (Cowell and Thomas, trans., pp. 210-211), and *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā*, xiv. 4.

[2] The modern Banās, a tributary of the Chambal or Charmaṇvatî (Pargiter). The reading "Venvā" (instead of Varṇāśā or Parṇāśā) is apparently incorrect.

[3] Either Kāli-Sindhu, a tributary of the Chambal, or Sindh, a tributary of the Jumna, lying between the Chambal and the Betwa (Vetravatî).

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, iii. 24. Pargiter was unable to identify it.

[5] Smith, EHI[4], p. 456: *Draviḍeshu mahāpuṇyaṁ dṛishṭvādriṁ Veṅkaṭam Prabhuḥ.*' (*Bhāgavata*, x. 79.)

(*d*) Aruṇāchala [1] or Śonāchala.—It stands on the river Kampā which flows past Kāñchî.

(*e*) Ṛishabha.—It is placed by the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (x. 79) between the Kāverî and Madurā. The *Mahābhārata* (iii. 85. 21) places it in the Pāṇḍya country.

(2) Hills associated with Malaya.—The most important among them is the Dardura. Pargiter suggests its identification with the Nilgiris or the Palni Hills. The *Raghuvaṁśa* (iv. 51) refers to Malaya and Dardura as the breasts of the southern region. In the *Sabhāparva* of the *Mahābhārata* the Chola and Pāṇḍya kings offer sandal from Dardura.[2] A monkey chief according to Pargiter inhabited Dardura and drank of the river Parṇāśā. But the text calls the chief Dardura-saṅkāśo [3] which does not necessarily indicate that he resided in Dardura.

(3) Hills associated with Sahya,—*e.g.* (*a*) Vaidūrya [4] connected by the *Mahābhārata* with the Payoshṇî and the Narmadā, and identified by scholars with the Oroudian mountain mentioned by Ptolemy.

(*b*) Govardhana—the hill of Nāsik.[5]

(*c*) Devagiri—the "towering hill" of modern Daulatābād. *Bomb. Gaz.*, I. ii. 501, 534.

[1] See *Aruṇāchala Māhātmya* of the *Skanda-purāṇa* Ch. iii, 59-61; iv. 9, 13, 2', 37.

[2] *Mbh.*, ii. 52.34. Dardura is also mentioned in xiii. 165.32. See also Pargiter, *JRAS*, 1894, 262.

[3] *Rām.*, Laṅkā, 26·42.

[4] 'Vaidūrya' apparently included the northernmost part of the Western Ghāṭs as the evidence of Ptolemy suggests. But it also included a part at least of the Sātpurā range as the *Mahābhārata* clearly indicates. It is the connecting link between the Sahya and the southern Vindhya with both of which it seems to have been confounded.

[5] *Cf.* Rapson, *Andhra Coins*, pp. xxix, xlvii, lvi. For another Govardhana, see Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, 138-41.

(*d*) Kṛishṇagiri (Kaṇhagiri of the Nāsik inscription)—modern Kanheri.[1]

(*e*) Trikuṭa.—It is placed in the Aparānta country. It gave its name to the Traikuṭaka dynasty.[2]

(*f*) Kolva, probably the hill near Kolhapur.[3]

(*g*) Ṛishyamūka.—It stretched, according to Pargiter, from Ahmadnagar to beyond Naldrug and Kalyāni, dividing the Mañjirā and the Bhīmā. Fleet (*IA*, 6.85) refers to it as a hill on the north of Hampe.

(*h*) Mālyavat.—It lay in the Kishkindhyā country, and is identified by Pargiter with the curved lines of hills near Kupal, Mudgal, and Raichur.

(*i*) Prasravaṇa.—It is associated with the Godāvarî and the Mandākinî (*Āraṇya*, 64. 10-14) as well as with a Vindhya in the extreme south of India (*Rām. Kishk.*, 52.31), and seems to have also included the Mālyavat.[4] It was perhaps the general name of the mountain chains stretching from the Mandākinî and the Godāvarî to the southern sea.

(*j*) Gomanta.—It lay in a *Vivara* of the Sabya. To its north stood Vanavāsi.[5] It is, therefore, to be placed in the Mysore region, and not near Nāsik as suggested by Pargiter.

[1] *Ibid*, xxxiii. It is in Sālsette, *Bomb. Gaz.*, I. ii.9. The mountain is also mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (vi. 26.30).

[2] See *Raghu*. iv. 59, and Rapson, *Andhra Coins*, lxiii. There is another Trikuṭa in Kashmir (Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power*, Ch. 3).

[3] See *Bhāg. P.*, v. 19.16. Kollagiri is placed in southern India in the description of Arjuna's march with the sacrificial horse (in the *Aśvamedha-parva*). *Cf*. Kollagiri in *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii. 497; *Mbh.*, ii. 31. 68.

[4] See *JRAS*, 1894, *Geography of Rāma's Exile*, pp. 256-258.

[5] *Harivaṁśa*, *Vishṇu-parva*, 39. 62-64.

(4) Hills associated with the western Vindhyas.

(*a*) Ūrjjayanta.—It is the Girnār Mountain situated on the east side of Junāgaḍh in Kāṭhiāwāḍ (Surāshṭra)[1] which figures so prominently in the Junāgaḍh Rock inscriptions of Rudradāman and Skanda Gupta. The mountain is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (iii. 88.23) and is probably hinted at in the *Ṛigveda* (ii. 13.8).

(*b*) Raivataka.—It is the hill opposite to Ūrjayat or Girnār.[2] In literature it is associated with the Yādava tribe.

(*c*) Arbuda.—Mount Abu at the south end of the Aravalli Range. We have a detailed account of the mountain in the *Arbuda Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*.

(*d*) Govardhana—the famous hill near the Jumna.

(5) Hills associated with the central Vindhyas, *e.g.* (*a*) Amarakaṇṭaka. It forms the eastern peak of Mekala or the Maikala Range which is "the connecting link between the great hill systems of the Vindhyas and Sātpurās," and stretches from the Khairāgarh State in Madhya Pradeśa to the Rewah State. It is the source of the Narmadā, the Śoṇa and the Mahānadî.

(*b*) Kolāhala.—It is placed by Pargiter between Panna and Bijawar in Bundelkhand. The *Mahābhārata* connects it with the river Śuktimatî (Ken).

(*c*) Chitrakūṭa.—It is the name of a famous hill lying 65 miles w.s.w. of Allahabad (*JRAS*, 1894, 239). The *Mahābhārata* associates it with Kālañjara (*Mbh.*, iii, 85.56).

(6) Hills associated with the eastern Vindhyas, *e.g.*, Pravaragiri-Gorathagiri. It is the Barābar Hill (Fleet, *CII*, 222-223). The identification of Gorathagiri with the Barābar Hill was suggested by Jackson in *JBORS*, i, 159f.

[1] Fleet, *CII*, p. 57.

[2] Fleet, *CII*, 64 n. *Paśchimabhāge, Skanda Purāṇa, Vastr,* 1.68.

In the Maurya period it was known as Khalatika pavata. The name Gorathagiri is found in the Great Epic and the inscription of Kharavela. The name Pravaragiri occurs in a Maukhari inscription.

Pāṇḍava.—It is the name of one of the five hills of Rājagṛiha, mentioned prominently in Buddhist literature (Cunn., *AGI*, 530).

Vaibhrāja or Vaihāra.—It is also one of the five hills of Rājagṛiha mentioned in the epic and in Buddhist literature, modern Baibhāra.[1]

Vātasvana.—Bathan in South Bihār according to Beglar, *ASR* viii., 46.

Mandāra—in the Bhāgalpur District (Fleet *CII*, p. 211) situated about 35 miles south of Bhāgalpur (*ASR*, viii, 130).

(7) Hills in the East—

Kāmagiri.—Kāmākhyā in Assam.

Udayagiri.—It refers either to the real Udayagiri in Orissa or S. Bihar, or the mythical mountain, associated with Astagiri.

(8) Hills associated with the Himavat: Maināka, Krauñcha,[2] Hemagiri,[3] and Indraparvata (*Mbh.*, ii. 30. 15).

[1] The names of the five hills of Rājagṛiha mentioned in the Pāli annals of Ceylon are (in Sanskrit) Gṛidhrakūṭa, Ṛishigiri, Vaibhāra, Vipula and Pāṇḍava (Cunn., *AGI.*, 530). Of these only the second, third and probably also the fourth find mention in the *Mahābhārata* (ii. 21. 2). Gṛidhrakūṭa, identified by Marshall with Chhathāgiri (*ASI*, 1905-6, pp. 86-90) is probably "Chaityaka" of the *Mahābhārata*. Pāṇḍava, identified by Cunningham with Ratnagiri, is in that case Vṛishabha of the epic and Vṛishabha-dhvaja of the *Purāṇas*. The *Mbh.*, ii. 22.45, however, connects the Pāṇḍavas with Chaityaka.

[2] Pargiter, *Mārk. P.*, 376 n. Krauñcha "appears to have been a portion of the Maināka mountains in the great Himavat mountain system." It is "the portion of the Himālaya chain bounding Nepāl at the extreme north-west."

[3] Pargiter, *Mārk. P.* 369 n.

(9) Hills whose identity is unknown or uncertain: Vaidyuta, Svarasa, Tuṅgaprastha probably near the river Tuṅgā in Mysore, Rochana, Kūṭaśaila, Kṛistasmara, (Cha)-kora, Añjana, Jambu, Mānava, Sūrpakarṇa prob. Śūrpāraka, Vyāghramukha, Kharmaka, Karvaṭāśana, Śūryādri, Kumudādri, Maṇimegha, Kshurādri, Khañjana, Dhanushmat, Vashumat (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*); Maṅgala-prastha, (*cf.* Maṅgalagiri of Guntur) Vāridhāra, Droṇa, (Dehra Dun?) Gokāmukha (*cf.* Kokāmukha, *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*).

CHAPTER X

On Some Rivers of Ancient India

India is a land of many rivers. The very name of the country is of riparian origin, being derived from *Sindhu* which means a river and refers particularly to the river *par excellence, viz.*, the mighty Indus which sweeps through the north-western part of the country. No fewer than ninety-nine streams are mentioned in the *Ṛigveda*,[1] the earliest literary monument of the Indo-Aryans. The Great Epic names one hundred and sixty-seven,[2] and the supplementary book styled *Harivaṁśa* has seventy-one.[3] The author of the *Milinda Pañho* knew five hundred rivers[4] issuing from the Himalayas alone, while the writer of the *Nadyādivarṇana* section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* mentions ninety important rivers, besides thousands of smaller streams. Comparatively few of these sheets of water were known to the Greek writers. Megasthenes names only thirty-six, while Ptolemy knew only forty-four streams including those that are represented as mouths of the bigger rivers.

Importance of rivers.

From the earliest times the larger rivers of this country have enjoyed a position of importance not unlike that of the Nile in Egypt, the Tiber in Italy and the Yellow River in China. Already in the *Ṛigveda* we find many of them lauded as deities. The whole of one hymn sings the praise of the Sindhu and its affluents together with the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, and is known as the *Nadīstuti*. Three hymns, besides numerous

[1] *Ṛigveda*, I. 32. 14.
[2] VI. 9. 14f.
[3] *Vishṇuparva*, 109. 12f.
[4] SBE XXXV, 171.

detached verses, celebrate the divine Sarasvatī, the "mother of streams," while one famous laud invokes the twin rivers Vipāś and Śutudrī. The sacred character of the rivers is also recognised in the Great Epic. The *Anuśāsanaparva*, for instance, characterises the Gaṅgā as *devanadī*, the Ṛishikulyā as *medhyā* and the Charmaṇvatī as *puṇyā*. It refers to the bank of the Phalgu as the abode of the gods. The Sarasvatī retains its pre-eminence among rivers and rivals the Gaṅgā in sanctity in the Epic as it rivals the Indus in the *Veda*.

In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* the rivers are described as

Sarvāḥ puṇyāḥ Sarasvatyaḥ, sarvāḥ Gaṅgāḥ samudagāḥ
Viśvasya mātaraḥ sarvāḥ sarvāḥ pāpaharāḥ smṛitāḥ

The banks of rivers became the favourite resorts of saints and seers, heroes and prophets. Along the Gomatī stretched the famous Naimishāraṇya where sages listened to the recitation of the Great Epic and the *Purāṇas*. The Mālinī flowed past the *āśrama* where Kaṇva brought up the charming Śakuntalā. On the Sarasvatī stood Pṛithūdaka, the famous place of pilgrimage, and along its bank stretched the Kāmyaka forest, the resort of the Pāṇḍu princes during the period of their exile. On the Godāvarī stood the Pañchavaṭī hallowed by the presence of Rāma, Lakshmaṇa and Sītā. On the Pampā lay the *āśrama* of Mātaṅga, the most southern outpost of Aryan civilisation in the age of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The God of the Bhāgavatas spent his childhood on the banks of the Yamunā. The prince of the Śākyas obtained enlightenment on the bank of the Neranjarā. The political importance of rivers was not less than their religious sanctity. The *Kautilīya Arthaśāstra* recommends the establishment of fortified capitals at the confluence of rivers or by the side of deep pools of perennial water. It is a fact that most of the capital cities of antiquity stood on the banks of rivers, and a large

number of them, *e.g.*, Pushkarāvatī, Pratishṭhāna, Pāṭaliputra and Champā, stood at the confluence of two streams.

Rivers not unoften formed the boundary line between *janapadas* and like the Rhine in Europe and the Euphrates in Western Asia witnessed many a struggle for supremacy between contending kings and emperors. The Hydaspes, which seems to have separated Taxila from the kingdom of Pauravas, saw the great encounter between Alexander and Poros. The river Sarasvatī, which marks off Uttarāpatha from the Madhyadeśa, flows past the battle-field of Kurukshetra and Thanesar. The Karatoyā and the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra), which form the dividing line between Puṇḍravardhana and Kāmarūpa, witnessed the glorious march of Yaśodharman and Mahāsenagupta as well as the discomfiture of Muhammād, the son of Bakhtiyar and Mirjumla. The Narmadā forming the boundary line between Northern India and the Deccan saw the mighty struggle between Harsha and Pulakeśin II, while the Tuṅgabhadrā witnessed equally formidable encounters between the Chālukyas and Cholas, Seunas and Hoysalas, the Bahmani Sultans and the kings of Vijayanagara.

To the merchant and cultivator the rivers were not less important than to the saint or the statesman. Referring to the selection of trade-routes Kauṭilya observes: "River navigation is better, as it is uninterrupted and is of avoidable or endurable dangers." Professor Rhys Davids points out that the main trade-route from East to West "was along the great rivers, along which boats plied for hire. Upwards, the rivers were used along the Ganges as far west as Sahājati, and along the Jumna as far west as Kosambi. Downwards, in later times at least, the boats went right down to the mouths of the Ganges, and thence either across or along the coast to Burma." The importance of rivers for purposes of cultivation is emphasized by the introductory story of the *Kunāla Jātaka* which refers

to the mutual recriminations of the Śākyas and the Koliyas engaged in a scramble for the water of the Rohiṇī.

As already stated the rivers are often styled Sarasvatīs. It will perhaps be not out of place to describe the Sarasvatī *per excellence* known to Vedic and Epic tradition.

The Sarasvati

As one looks through the dim mists of antiquity, he cannot fail to note that civilization in India, as in Egypt, Iraq and China, dawned on the banks of great rivers. History bears witness to the fact that the tenor of cultural evolution, changes in material prosperity, and vicissitudes of politics have an intimate connection with alterations in the course and flow of the life-giving streams. Literature is full of echoes of such changes. Perhaps no river in our country has excited greater interest in this respect than the Sarasvatī.

This is the river *par excellence* in several hymns of the *Ṛigveda*, usually regarded as the oldest literary work of the Indo-Aryans. It is also alluded to in numerous later texts. From these references one gets the impression that in the early Vedic age, probably not later than the middle of the second millennium B.C., it was a mighty stream which had its source in the Himalayas and flowed through the Eastern Punjab (past the far-famed Kurukshetra of later ages) and ultimately found its way to the sea (*vide infra*). From descriptions in numerous hymns and songs found scattered throughout our ancient literature, it is apparent that the river was lined with flourishing settlements of holy sages and prosperous clans on both banks where the broad features of ancient Indo-Aryan civilization and social polity took shape.

But we look in vain for such a mighty river now in the eastern part of the modern Punjab. We have in its place

an inconspicuous rivulet called the Sarsuti whose name however recalls the Sarasvatī of olden times. This little stream rises in a depression at the foot of the Siwaliks which fringe the outer Himalayas, and enters the Ambala and Karnal districts of the Eastern Punjab. It flows past the sacred sites of Kurukshetra including Sthānu Tīrtha (Thanesar), and Prithūdaka (Pehoa) near which it receives a small affluent called the Aruṇā. It is joined by a number of hill streams (the Linda, the Markanda), enters the Patiala territory and unites with a larger stream, the Ghaggar which likewise rises in the Siwaliks. The land between the Sarasvatī on the north and the Drishadvatī (which has been identified with the Rakshi), a stream running in a south-westerly direction east of the Sarasvatī, is the classical Brāhmavarta, said to be the holiest region in India (*Manusaṁhitā*, early centuries A.D.). Under the name Ghaggar, the united stream passes through the Patiala State, the Hissar district and the Bikaner territory down to Bahawalpur and Sind where the dry course is continued under the name 'Hakra' which seems to have joined the great Mihran of mediaeval writers. "Throughout the deltaic flats of the Indus may still be seen old channels which once conducted its waters to the Rann of Cutch". In our own days the Sarsuti-Ghaggar flows in its wide sandy bed below the junction only for some months. "In the lower portion of its course in the Hissar district the bed of the river is dry from November to June, and grows excellent crops of wheat and rice. Even in the rains the water-supply is very capricious, and from time to time it fails entirely except in the immediate neighbourhood of the hills."[1]

[1] *Imp. Gazetteer of India, Vol.* I. 30; Rajputana, 1908, p. 98. "The Caggar (Ghaggar), which rises in the Sewaluk, passes Hansi, Hissar, and flowed under the walls of Bhutnair, at which place they yet have their wells in its bed. Thence it passed Rung-mahel,

Though the course of the stream described above is recognised by popular tradition to be no other than that of the Vedic Sarasvatī, neither its flow, nor its actual expanse at the present day appears to conform to that of the Vedic river, and doubts have been expressed that the Vedic singers might have had some other sheet of water in view when they invoked the name Sarasvatī. The great Indus, the Arghandab, and its principal, the Helmand river, in the Kandahar region of Afghanistan (ancient Arachosia), have sometimes been put forward as the Vedic Sarasvatī.

On the other hand, it has been held that the notices and descriptions in extant literature leave no room for any other identification ; and the present moribund stream called the Sarsuti is really the relic of the once mighty river Sarasvatī which, due to physical causes, has shrunk and dwindled down continuously throughout nearly four thousand years of history. There is enough ground for such a belief. For the width of the Sarsuti-Ghaggar depression within the State of Bikaner is in places not less than two miles. At certain points it is four miles or more. Below Derawar in the Bahawalpur State, the dry beds have a deltaic look.[1]

The length and the width of the depression clearly indicate that we have to deal with the remnants of an once

Bullur, and Phoolra, and through the flats of Khadal (of which Derrawul is the capital), emptying itself according to some, below Ootch (Uch), but according to Abu-Birkat (whom I sent to explore in 1809, and who crossed the dry bed of a stream called the Khuggur, near Shahgurh), between Jessulmeer and Rori Bekher. If this could be authenticated, we should say at once that united with the branch from Dura, it gave its name to the Sangra, which unites with the Looni, enlarging the eastern branch of the Delta of the Indus" (Tod, *Rajasthan*, old ed., II. 253).

[1] Stein, *Ancient sites along the lost Sarasvati River, The Geographical Journal*, April, 1942, pp. 175-181.

big river, and the identification would be complete if remains of ancient cities could be traced in its present arid basin. This attempt was made by several writers and explorers. Col. Tod sent a party in 1809. Major Raverty emphasized the importance of the Hakra, 'of which the Sutlej was a tributary', more than half a century ago in a paper entitled '*The Mihran of Sind and its Tributaries*'.[1]

In 1920 Dr. L. P. Tessitori published the results of his exploration of the Ghaggar.[2] In recent times the problem attracted the attention of Sir Aurel Stein, the famous explorer of Central Asia and translator of the '*Rājataraṅginī*'. In an article published in a geographical magazine he summarizes the results of his survey of ancient sites along the lost Sarasvatī river.[3] In view of what has been written on the subject it is necessary to take stock of the facts that can be gleaned from literature, Vedic and post-Vedic, and inscriptions, regarding the original condition and subsequent history of the famous stream.

We may first dispose of the claims of other rivers. In post-Vedic literature the name Sarasvatī has often been applied to many other streams and brooks. Nay it has been used sometimes in Purāṇic texts in a generic sense to include all the sacred streams of our country :

Sarvāḥ puṇyāḥ Sarasvatyaḥ
Sarvā Gaṅgāḥ samudragāḥ.[4]

"All sacred (rivers) are Sarasvatī, all seagoing (streams) are the Ganges."

It was specially applied to seven rivers of antiquity besides a number of other sheets of water associated with

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXI, Part I, pp. 155 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, N. S. XVI (1920), pp. 254 ff; *Progress Report of the Arch. Surv. Western Circle*, 1922, p. 112 ff.

[3] *The Geographical Journal*, April, 1942, pp. 173 ff.

[4] *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, LVII. 30.

several holy spots. The rivers enumerated in the *Sārasvatopākhyāna*[1] of the *Mahābhārata* as *Sapta Sarasvatyaḥ*, are as follows: the Suprabhā in Pushkara near Ajmer,[2] the Kāñchanākshī in Naimisha to the north-west of Lucknow, the Viśālā in the Gayā region, the Manoramā in Uttara Kosala or Oudh, the Oghavatī in Kurukshetra near Thanesar, the Surenu near Gaṅgadvāra or Hardwar, and the Vimalodā on the Himalayas.

Besides these seven Sarasvatīs a few other streams also bore the same name, *e.g.*, the river which takes its rise in Mount Abu traverses the contiguous forest (*Arbudāraṇya*) and flows past Patan into the little Rann of Cutch. This stream is apparently mentioned in a grant of Mularāja Chaulukya in the tenth century A.D. and the *Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*.[3] In the *Mahābhārata*,[4] the *Vāmana Purāṇa*,[5] and certain verses of the *Prabhāsa-khanda*[6] itself we have reference to a Sarasvatī at Prabhāsa (the Somnath region in the Kathiāwār Peninsula). The *Bṛihaddharma Purāṇa*[7] mentions the Sarasvatī at the Tribeṇī (Allahabad), and at the Muktabeṇī in the Hughly district where the westernmost triad of branches into which

[1] *Salya Parva*, Ch. XXXVIII.

[2] For the Sarasvatī which carries the drainage of the Pushkar valley see Rajputana (*Imperial Gazetteer*, Provincial series), 1908, p. 449; Tod, *Annals and Antiquities* of *Rajasthan*, I. 597; II. 253. It is the name of the Luni or Salt river on its upper course which with its numerous feeders has its source in the springs of the Aravalli.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* VI. p. 192. *Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa*, Chap. XXXV. 38. *Cf. Progress Report of the Arch. Surv. Ind.* Western Circle, for 1905-6, p. 53.

[4] III. 82. 58-60; IX. 35. 72.

[5] 84. 28.

[6] Ch. XXXV. 101 ff. *cf.* also the Cintra Praśasti, *Epigraphia Indica*, I. 275, 283; and *Alberuni*, XXV, p. 261.

[7] 1. 6. 27-28; 33-34.

the Bhāgīrathī divided was known as the Sarasvatī. The Tribeṇī at Allahabad is according to some a mystic invention to satisfy the craze for the magic number three.

The Western and the Eastern Sarasvatī

Of course, none of these rivers except perhaps the Oghavatī can claim to be the Vedic Sarasvatī. There are strong reasons to believe that another river in the west, besides the stream in the eastern Punjab, was also known in antiquity under the name Sarasvatī; for in the Pehoa inscription[1] of Bhoja I of the Imperial Pratihāra Dynasty, the stream which flows past Pehoa receives the name *Prāchī* Sarasvatī. The prefix *Prāchī*, *i.e.*, eastern, points to a tradition about the existence of a western river of the same name about 850 A.D. and earlier. The existence of a western Sarasvatī is also supported by the *Avesta* which mentions a 'Harahvaitī' [2] which clearly corresponds to the Sanskrit 'Sarasvatī'. This western Sarasvatī can hardly be the Indus, as some scholars have thought, because in several passages of the *Ṛigveda*, VII.36.6,[3] X.64.9,[4] and 75.4-5,[5] the Sarasvatī is carefully distinguished from the

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, I. 187. The name Prāchī Sarasvatī is also applied to the river which flows past Patan (Aṇahilapāṭaka) in Gujrat. *Ind. Ant.* VI. 192.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* 1903, 291; *Cambridge History of India*, I, 321 n.

[3] "May the seventh (stream) *Sarasvatī*, the mother of the *Sindhu* and those rivers that flow copious and fertilizing, bestowing abundance of food, and nourishing (the people) by their waters, come at once together." (Wilson)

[4] "May the very great rivers, *Sarasvatī*, *Sarayu*, *Sindhu*, come with their waves for (our) protection: may the divine maternal animating waters grant us their water mixed with butter and honey." (Wilson)

[5] "Like mothers crying for their sons, (the other rivers) hasten towards thee, *Sindhu*, like milch cows with their milk; thou leadest

Sindhu (the Indus). The river which has the best claim to be regarded as the Sarasvatī of the west is either the river of that name at the shrine of Sāradā in Kāshmīr[1] or the Harahvaitī identified with the Arghandāb, a tributary of the Helmand in Arachosia, or with the Helmand itself.[2] The claim of the Arachosian stream to be regarded as the Sarasvatī of certain hymns possibly finds some support in a passage of the *Ṛigveda*, X.64.9, where it is mentioned along with the Sarayu and the Sindhu, provided the Sarayu in this passage is the river of Herat known in early texts as the Haraiva. But the matter is not free from doubt, as the Sarayu of Oudh may also have been meant.

The western Sarasvatī can, however, hardly be the stream mentioned in all the Ṛigvedic hymns, for in III. 23.4[3] and X.75.5, the Sarasvatī finds mention along with the Dṛishadvatī (modern Rakshi) and the Āpayā (another branch of the Chitang), and occupies a place in the enumeration of rivers in the *Nadīstuti*, between the Yamunā and the Sutudrī (Sutlej). This description can only apply to the modern Sarsuti, the river of Kurukshetra.

THE SARASVATĪ, A MIGHTY SEAGOING STREAM IN THE EARLY VEDIC AGE.

We may now proceed to find out what indications the passages in the *Ṛigveda* give us regarding its flow and its

thy two wings like a king going to battle when thou marchest in the van of the streams that are descending (with thee).

"Accept this my praise *Gaṅgā*, *Yamunā*, *Sarasvatī*, *Sutudrī*, *Parushṇī*, *Marudvṛidhā*, with *Asiknī*, and *Vitastā*; listen, *Ārjīkīyā* with *Sushomā*." (Wilson).

[1] *Rājataraṅginī*, I. 37.

[2] *Vedic Index*, II. 434 n, 437.

[3] "I place thee in an excellent spot of earth on an auspicious day of days; do thou, *Agni*, shine on the frequented (banks) of the *Dṛishadvatī*, *Āpayā* and *Sarasvatī* rivers."

basin. In *Ṛigveda* VII. 95. 1-2[1] the Sarasvatī is described as the chief and purest of rivers flowing from the mountains to the ocean (*yatī giribhya ā samudrāt*). It sweeps away in its might all other waters. In VI. 61. 2. and 13[2] it is mentioned as the most impetuous of all other streams. "With impetuous and mighty waves it breaks down the precipices of mountains and undermines both her banks," or, according to another interpretation, a people called Pārāvatas (*Pārāvataghnīm*). It has "water-laden" sisters whose number is seven, and it causes the prosperity of the five folks (*pañcha jātā vardhayantī*).

The five tribes in *Ṛigveda*, VI. 61. 12[3] may have reference to the Bharatas, the Kurus, the Ruśamas, the Matsyas, and the Videghas or Videhas before their migration to the banks of the Sadānīrā, which is identified with the Gandak or some neighbouring stream.[4] The seven sister streams are distinguished from the Sarasvatī in *Ṛigveda*, VI. 61.

[1] "This Sarasvatī, firm as a city made of iron, flows rapidly with (all) sustaining water, sweeping away in its might all other waters, as a charioteer (clears the road).

"Sarasvatī, chief and purest of rivers, flowing from the mountains to the ocean, understood the request of son of Nahusha, and distributing riches among the many existing beings, milked for him butter and water." *Cf.* Mbh. ix. 41. 31.

[2] "With impetuous and mighty waves she breaks down the precipices of the mountains, like a digger for the lotus fibres: we adore for our protection, with praises and with sacred rites, *Sarasvatī*, the underminer of both her banks."

"She who is distinguished amongst them as eminent in greatness and in her glories; she who is the most impetuous of all other streams; she who has been created vast in capacity as a chariot she, *Sarasvatī*, is to be glorified by the discreet (worshipper)."

[3] "Abiding in the three worlds, comprising seven elements, cherishing the five races (of beings), she is ever to be invoked in battle."

[4] *Cf. R. V.* III. 23. 2-4; VII. 96, 2; Oldenberg, *Buddha*, 402; *Vedic Index*, II. 225 ; *Sat. Br.*, I. 4.1. 14; XIII. 5. 4. 9.

10[1] and apparently also in VIII. 54. 4.[2] But in VII. 36. 6. the Sarasvatī is the seventh (*saptathī*). The "seven sisters" of the *Ṛigveda* may have formed the groundwork of the epic legend of the seven Sarasvatīs. The identity of the rivers included in the group seems however to have varied from time to time.

In *Ṛigveda*, II. 41. 16[3] the Sarasvatī is styled *ambitamā* and *nadītamā*, best of mothers and best of rivers. These epithets recall the laud in the *Mahābhārata*, XIII. 146. 17 :

eshā Sarasvatī puṇyā nadīnāṁ uttamā nadī
prathamā sarvasaritāṁ nadīsāgaragāminī.

In the same epic, IX. 43. 28, 39-40, we have the interesting story of the overflow of the Sarasvatī as a result of which the Aruṇā sprang to life.

Maharshiṇāṁ mataṁ jñātvā tataḥ sā saritāṁ varā
Aruṇāmānayāmāsa svāṁ tanuṁ purusharshabha
* * * *
nigūḍhamasyāgamanamihāsīt purvameva tu
tato'bhyetyāruṇāṁ devīṁ plāvayāmāsa vāriṇā.

"Ascertaining the wishes of the great sages the best of rivers (the Sarasvatī) incorporated the Aruṇā with her own body; formerly the flow (of the Aruṇā) was hidden. Afterwards (the Sarasvatī) inundated the divine Aruṇā with its own waters."

[1] "May *Sarasvatī*, who has seven sisters, who is dearest amongst those dear to us, and is fully propitiated, be ever adorable."

[2] "May Pūshan, Vishṇu, Sarasvatī, the seven Sindhus, Water, Wind, Mountains and Trees protect my sacrificial offering."

[3] "Sarasvatī, best of mothers, best of rivers, best of goddesses, we are, as it were, of no repute; grant us, mother, distinction."

"In thee, *Sarasvatī*, who art divine, all existences are collected: rejoice, Goddess, amongst the Śunahotras, grant us, goddess, progeny."

The translations are mainly from Wilson.

It is clear that the Sarasvatī described in the hymns and songs noted above was a mightly stream that gave life and prosperity to a flourishing population. It was closely associated with other rivers including the Sindhu (the Indus) and its tributaries (*sapta-sindhu* ; *sapta-svasā*).[1] Nay, in VII, 36. 6. it is lauded as the mother of rivers or of the Indus (*Sindhumātā*). This last epithet may imply that once its waters mingled with that of the Indus and its affluents, and some of the Vedic singers regarded it as the principal stream, the other rivers of the Punjab being reckoned as its tributaries. This view receives some support from a passage of the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*[2] which says that "five rivers flowing on their way speed onward to the Sarasvatī, but then became the Sarasvatī—a five-fold river in the land"[2] :—

Pañcha nadyaḥ Sarasvatīmapi yanti sasrotasaḥ
Sarasvatī tu pañchadhā so dese'bhavat sarit.

The description of the Sarasvatī as *pañchadhā*—five-fold, or split up into five parts, may indicate that in its lower channel, while entering the areas now known as Bahawalpur and Sind and perhaps also Marwar and the littoral of the Rann of Cutch, it had branched off into five distributaries or run into an equal number of distinct channels. The inundation of the Aruṇā may be recalled in this connection.

Significantly enough Sir Aurel Stein in his survey expresses the opinion that below Derawar in the Bahawalpur State "the branching dry river beds" have a deltaic look.[3]

[1] *R. V.*, VI, 52. 6; 61. 10; VII, 36. 6; VIII. 54. 4.
[2] *Vāj. Sam*, 34. 11 ; Griffith's Trans., p. 281.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

Description

On the left bank of the Ghaggar, after it has entered the State of Bikaner, stands Hanumangarh close to the ruined fort of Bhatner. Lower down the riverine belt there is Suratgarh, 113 miles north by north-east of Bikaner city. Mounds in the neighbourhood of these towns yielded fragments of painted or relief decorated pottery, terracotta sculptures, etc. which Stein assigns to the Kushan period.[1] More ancient sites were traced within the Bahawalpur area. These include the Sandhanawala Ther (mound) near Fort Abbas a little to the west of Walar and Bijnor between which "an ancient winding bed of the Sutlej" is believed to have joined the Hakra. Excavation at Sandhanawala disclosed remains of chalcholithic (coeval with Harappa-Mohenjodaro) times,[2] *i.e.*, c. 2500 B.C. The ceramic ware of this region is distinct from the pottery found at the mounds up the Ghaggar in the Bikaner State. Stein is inclined to assign the Sandhanawala deposits to the third millennium B.C. It is suggested that the prehistoric occupation along the lower Hakra stopped after the branch of the Sutlej had ceased to join it. Agricultural life seems to have lasted longer on the Ghaggar higher up in the State of Bikaner. In modern times the flow of the river stops for the greater part of the year above Hanumangarh.

The "archaeologically attested" facts regarding the Ghaggar-Hakra bed clearly accord with the data supplied by Vedic and Epic tradition that in Vedic times there was a mighty river named Sarasvatī with a continuous and perennial flow down to the sea. The width of the riverine belt, reaching in places four miles or more, the deltaic character of the portion below Derawar, and the presence of

[1] Stein, *Op. cit.*, 177 ff.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 180.

numerous mounds marking ancient sites on or near its banks, some of which go back to a remote antiquity, recall many famous hymns of the *Ṛigveda*.

Decline of the Sarasvatī

The story of the gradual decay of the once mighty stream is writ large in post-Ṛigvedic literature. It is possible that by the time of the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* the Sarasvatī had for most part of the year ceased to be a continuous stream, and the onward move of its waters was interrupted at certain points, so that it seemed to consist of five distinct sheets or pools of water. The expression *Pañchadhā* is open to this interpretation as well as the one already suggested. The very name Sarasvatī '*abounding in pools or lakes*' suggests that from the beginning certain portions of its course looked like lakes (*saras*). These became very prominent in the period represented by the *Brāhmaṇas* and the Epics 550+x B.C. to 500 A.D. The *Mahābhārata* refers to *five* lakes at Samanta-pañchaka[1] where the great battle between the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas is said to have been fought. At this point the Sarasvatī is particularly noted for its sanctity, which suggests antiquity of the site.

Puṇyaṁ Haimavatiṁ devīṁ
sarichchhreshṭhāṁ Sarasvatīm
Samantapañchake yā vai
trishu lokeshu viśrutā.

"The site on the sacred and divine Sarasvatī, that foremost of rivers, taking her rise from the Himalayas, which is renowned in the three worlds as Samanta-pañchaka."[2]

[1] *Ādi Parva*, 2, 4ff.
[2] *Śalya Parva*, 44, 50.

In the *Vana Parva* we find mention of the Rāmahrada and the Triṇavindu-saras.[1] The *Śalya Parva* mentions the Dvaipāyanahrada which looked like a second sea (*dvītiyam-iva sāgaram*), and another lake (*hrada*) not far from the confluence of the Sarasvatī and the Aruṇā.[2] Some of these pools of water persisted down to 1,000 A.D., for a holy lake in Kurukshetra was noticed by Alberuni.[3] (C. 1000 A.D.). One of the most interesting lakes associated with the Sarasvatī is the *Dvaitavanam saras* which finds mention in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 550+x B.C. as well as in the Great Epic.[4] The former work informs us that it was named after a king of the Matsya country or the district round Bairat (Virāṭanagara) to the south-west of of Delhi, now included within the State of Jaipur.

To the tradition about the splitting up of the Sarasvatī into several parts in a portion of its course is perhaps also to be attributed the confusion that the epic and Purāṇic poets make in representing the Sarasvatī at Prabhāsa, the Arbudāraṇya, Dvaitavana, Kurukshetra, etc., as parts of the same stream.[5] There were, we are told, invisible links joining the apparently separate sheets of water :

snigdhatvādoshadhīnāñcha bhumeścha Janamejaya
jānanti siddhā rājendra nashṭāmapi Sarasvatīm.

"Owing to the soothing herbs (or scrub), and the loamy soil, *Siddhas* (the wise, lit. supernal beings) recognise (the presence of) the Sarasvatī, although not visible (to

[1] *Vana*, 83. 208; 257, 13.
[2] *Śalya*, 30. 53; 43. 10-28.
[3] Alberuni's *India*, Ch. LXVI.
[4] *Śat. Br.*, XIII. 5. 4. 9; *Mbh.* III. 24. 10-12, 25. 1; IX, 37. 25.
[5] *Mbh.*, IX, 35 ff; *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Prabhasakhaṇḍa*, ch. 35.
In verse 92 we have reference to

Hariṇī Vajriṇī Nyañku Kapilā cha Sarasvatī
Pañcha srotāḥ sthitā tatra muninoktā Sarasvatī.

the ordinary man).''[1] These passages possibly signify that before the completion of the epic, long before 500 A.D., the lower parts in the deltaic area had become disconnected though the memory of their being once branches or feeders of a vast sheet of flowing water persisted.

ENCROACHMENT OF THE DESERT

In the period of the Great Epic, the south bank of the Sarasvatī in a part of the Kurukshetra area is described as *anirina*,[2] not arid. In certain passages of the *Vana Parva*[3] we have reference to trees and reeds lining its banks which mocked the blue (or height?) of the sky.

Sarasvatyāḥ pare pāre nānādrumalatāvṛitam
ākāśanīkāśātaṭaṁ tīravānīrasaṅkulām.

Close to the Triṇavindu *saras* further south, to which reference has already been made, lay the forest named Kāmyaka. On the banks of the lake Dvaitavana stretched another forest which bore the same name as the lake itself. This wood seems to have been full of ranches, but the Kāmyaka attracted only anchorites,[4]

Tataḥ Sarasvatīkūle sameshu marudhanvasu
Kāmyakaṁ nāma dadṛisurvanaṁ munijanapriyam.

"Then they saw before them the forest named Kāmyaka on the banks of the Sarasvatī *on a level and arid plain*, a favoured resort for hermits."

The word *maru* means a desert, and *dhanvan* has the sense of a dry soil, a tract scantily supplied with water. It is clear that vegetation at this point was nourished by

[1] *Mbh.*, IX, 35. 84. We have already seen that the name Prāchī Sarasvatī is applied to the river at Pehoa as well as that at Patan.
[2] IX. 55. 16.
[3] III. 100. 13; 182. 14.
[4] III. 5, 3; 257. 13; *Sat. Br.*, XIII, 5. 4. 9; *Mbh.*, III. 237.

such meagre supplies of water as were still available in the midst of the encroaching sands. The area was noted for its fauna and had a population consisting of hermits and exiled princes. It could hardly have supported an agricultural population, or even a considerable body of ranchmen. In a later passage of the epic we are distinctly told that the Kāmyaka forest stood at the head of a desert area (*marubhumeḥ śiraḥsthānam*), doubtless the desert of Marwar, close to the Triṇavindu lake which must have supplied the water to which the forest owed its continued existence. Knights and nobles who came on pilgrimage to some of the sacred shrines along the Sarasvatī had to bring necessaries of life including sufficient stocks of food and drink.[1] Among the conveyances used the camel, the ship of the desert, finds prominent mention.

At one point the bed of the Sarasvatī seems to have been entirely smothered by the sand. It is apparently mentioned as *Adarśana* or *Vinaśana* "place of disappearance" in legal codes and the epic. Neither the *Bodhāyana Dharmasūtra*[2] nor the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*[3] which alludes to the spot, gives us any clue as to its exact location. In the Great Epic, however, Vinaśana is placed on the borders of the land of the Śūdras and the Ābhīras.[4]

Śudrā-Ābhīrān pratidveshād yatra nashṭā Sarasvatī

The Śūdras may be taken to correspond to the Sodrai of Diodoros, styled Sogdoi by Arrian.[5] The Ābhīras were doubtless the people of Abiria placed by Ptolemy[6] above Patalene or the Indus delta. The royal seat (*Basileion*) of

[1] *Mbh.* IX. 35. 16-24.
[2] I. 1. 25.
[3] II. 21.
[4] IX. 37. 1. *cf. Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 132.
[5] M'Crindle, *The Invasion of Alexander*, pp. 157, 293.
[6] Ptolemy, VII. I. 55.

the Sodrai lay below the confluence of the Akesines (Chenāb) and the Indus. The position of Vinaśana in the epic age (*cir* 500 B.C.—500 A.D.) was on the borders of the *janapada* of this city and the neighbouring realm possibly Abiria, and could not have been very far away from '*the riverine belt along the Hakra from about the assumed confluence with an old bed of the Sutlej, down to Derawar*' which knew no settled agricultural life during historical times.[1] The "place of disappearance" in later ages was higher up the Ghaggar-Sarsuti. The *Prabhāsakhaṇḍa*[2] informs us that the *Prāchī* Sarasvatī was everywhere difficult to be found. This was particularly the case at Kurukshetra, Prabhāsa and Pushkara.

Prāchī Sarasvatī devī sarvatra cha sudurlabhā
viseshena Kurukshetre Prabhāse Pushkare tathā

Sridharasvāmī in his commentary on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[3] locates Vinaśana in Kurukshetra itself. This must have represented the state of things in his own days c. A.D. 1400[4] and points to a considerable change since the time of the *Mahābhārāta*. In our own times, the place where the stream is choked up appears to have moved up still further towards the north.

Thus in the story of the Sarasvatī we have a continuous record of the encroachment of the "thick mantle of sands disintegrated from the subjacent rocks as well as blown in from the sea coast" for over 4,000 years, gradually smothering a great sea-going river, and taking the life out of cities and ranches, fields and forests. The process recalls the happenings in the valley of the Tarim in Central Asia. Is the desiccation attributable to "a long continued

[1] Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 180.
[2] 35. 109.
[3] 1. 9. 1.
[4] Farquhar, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 231.

and extreme degree of aridity of the region combined with the sand-drifting action of the south-west monsoon winds, which sweep through Rajputana for several months of the year without precipitating any part of the moisture contained in them"?[1] Or have the moisture-bearing currents of air, whose interception by the lower Himalayan slopes in the Eastern Punjab set free the large volume of water which kept up the flow of the Sarasvatī down to the sea in days of yore, been diverted elsewhere?

A third suggestion may be made that the head-waters of the Sarasvatī might have been captured by the Jumna or, preferably the Sutlej in historical times, this leading to a shrinkage in the volume of water carried by the Sarasvatī, and thus leading to its gradual decay. The evidence of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* suggests the last surmise.[2]

[1] D. N. Wadia, *Geology of India*, 1939, p. 4, 291.

[2] In the *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* (about 1450 A.D.) which is almost a contemporaneous work, we have the following notice of the Sarasvati: "in the vicinity of Barwār there was a hill of earth, out of which ran a stream that emptied into Sataldar (Sātlaz): it bore the name of Sarsuti. On the other side of the mound, there was another stream called the Salima. If the earthen dike were cut through, the waters of the Sarsuti would fall into that stream (Salima) and (both) would flow through Sirhind and Mansurpur, to Sannām, and *will have* a perennial supply of water." (K. K. Basu's trans., p. 137).

[THE SARASVATI AND THE JUMNA: The idea that the Delhi-Ambala ridge has been subjected to an uplift at a very recent date is not convincing. This ridge is a remnant of the ancient Aravalli range and there is no clear evidence of any recent tilt. There is incontrovertible evidence that the Sarasvatī (Ghaggar etc.) is a river of historic times, and the drying up of the lower reaches of this river should be attributed merely to the northward march of the Rajputana desert. The great Rajput kingdoms would not have been established in northern Rajputana in an arid region and there is no doubt that even towards the beginning of the Christian Era Rajputana was forested and far from arid. *The capture of the upper reaches of the Sarasvatī*

by the Jumna does not necessarily imply an uplift; it may merely be due to the head erosion of an upper tributary of the Jumna. Moreover, no one has proved that the Jumna is a river of very recent date and that it is due to the Sarasvatī veering to the south-east from its former south-westerly course. *Ed.—Science and Culture*, Vol. VIII, 473n].

PART III

History (Political, Social, Religious, etc.) and Chronology

PART III

History and Chronology

CHAPTER XI

Buddhism in Western Asia

Thanks to the active propaganda of Aśoka, and the pious zeal of missionaries and monks like Mahendra, Kāśyapa-Mātaṅga, Bodhidharma, Kumārajīva, Śānta-rakshita, Padmasambhava, Atīśa and others of lesser note, Buddhism spread throughout Southern, Central, and Eastern Asia and the neighbouring islands, where millions of people to this day revere the Śākya sage as their teacher and master. But Western Asia remains outside the spiritual empire of the Blessed One. The tide of Indian spiritual influence, it has been said, flowed eastwards rather than westwards. Nevertheless, it is a fact that the vast region beyond the western frontiers of India came within the geographical horizon of Buddhist writers as early as the *Bāveru Jātaka* and possibly the *Sussondi Jātaka*, and its princes figure not inconspicuously in Buddhist inscriptions of the third century B.C. The records of Aśoka show that the eyes of the imperial missionary of Magadha were turned more to the West than to the East; and even the traditional account of early Buddhist proselytising efforts given in the chronicles of Ceylon,[1] does not omit to mention the country of the Yonas where Mahārakkhita "delivered in the midst of the people the *Kālakārāma suttanta*, in consequence of which a hundred and seventy thousand living beings attained to the reward of the path (of salvation) and ten thousand received the *pabbajjā*."[1] It will

[1] *Mahāvaṁsa*, Ch. xii.

perhaps be argued that the Yona country, mentioned in the chronicles, is to be identified with some district in the Kābul valley, and is not to be taken to refer to the realm of "Antiochos, the Yona king, and the kings, the neighbours of that Antiochos, namely, Ptolemy, Antigonos, Magas and Alexander," mentioned in the second and the thirteenth Rock Edicts of Aśoka. Rhys Davids, in fact, is inclined to regard the declaration in these edicts about the success of Aśoka's missionary propaganda in the realms of Yona princes as mere "royal rhodomontade". "It is quite likely," says he, "that the Greek kings are only thrown in by way of makeweight, as it were; and that no emissaries had been actually sent there at all." [1]

Alberuni,[2] however, writing in the eleventh century A.D. says. "In former times Khurāsān, Persis, Irāk, Mosul, the country up to the frontier of Syria, was Buddhistic, but then Zarathustra went forth from Ādharbaijān and preached Magism in Balkh (Baktra). His doctrine came into favour with king Gushtasp, and his son Isfendiyād spread the new faith both in East and West, both by force and by treaties. He founded fire-temples through his whole Empire, from the frontiers of China to those of the Greek Empire. The succeeding kings made their religion (*i.e.* Zoroastrianism) the obligatory state-religion for Persis and Irāk. In consequence, the Buddhists were banished from those countries, and had to emigrate to the countries east of Balkh. . . . .Then came Islam." The above account may not be correct in all its particulars. The statement that Buddhism flourished in the countries of Western Asia before Zoroaster is clearly wrong. But the prevalence of the religion of Śākyamuni in parts of Western Asia in a period considerably anterior

[1] *Buddhist India*, p. 298.
[2] Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, p. 21.

to Alberuni, and its supersession by Zoroastrianism and Islam may well be based upon fact. The antagonism of Buddhism to the fire-cult is hinted at in the *Bhūridatta Jātaka* (No. 543, Verses 138 f.).[1] It has even been suggested that Zoroastrian scriptures allude to disputes with the Buddhists.[2]

Four centuries before Alberuni, Hiuen Tsang bore witness to the fact that Lang-kie (ka)-lo, a country subject to Persia, contained above 100 monasteries and more than 6,000 Brethren who applied themselves to the study of the Great and Little "Vehicles". Persia (Po-la-sse) itself contained two or three Saṅghārāmas, with several hundred priests, who principally studied the teaching of the Little Vehicle according to the Sarvāstivādin school. The *pātra* of Śākya Buddha was in this (country), in the king's palace.[3]

The Chinese pilgrim did not probably personally visit Persia. But no doubt need be entertained regarding the existence of Buddhist communities and Saṅghārāmas in Irān. Stein discovered a Buddhist monastery in "the terminal marshes of the Helmund" in Seistān.[4] Mānī, the founder of the Manichæan religion, who was born in A.D. 215-16, at Ctesiphon in Babylonia, and began to preach his gospel probably in A.D. 242, shows unmistak-

[1] *Cf.* *Sikhiṁ hi devesu vadanti h'eke*
āpaṁ milakkhā pana devam āhu
sabbe va ete vitathaṁ bhaṇanti
aggî na devaññataro na cāpo.
Fausboll, the *Jātaka*, vi, 207

[2] Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, iii, 450.

[3] Beal, *Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, pp. 277-278; Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, ii, 257.

[4] Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, iii, 3.

able traces of Buddhist influence.[1] In his book *Shāburqān* (*Shapurakhan*) he speaks of the Buddha as a messenger of God. Legge and Eliot refer to a Manichæan treatise which has the form of a Buddhist *Sūtra*. It speaks of Māni as the Tathāgata and mentions Buddhas and the Bodhisattva. In his *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*[2] Dr. Vincent Smith refers to a picture of a four-armed Buddhist saint or Bodhisattva in the guise of a Persian with black beard and whiskers, holding a thunderbolt (*vajra*) in his left hand, which had been found at a place called Dandān-Uiliq in Turkestan. Such figures are undoubtedly the products of a type of Buddhism which must have developed in Irān, and enjoyed considerable popularity as late as the eighth century A.D. which is the date assigned by Dr. Smith to the fresco or distemper paintings on wood and plaster discovered at Dandān-Uiliq.

It is difficult to say to what extent Buddhist literature made its influence felt in Western Asia. Sir Charles Eliot points out the close resemblance between certain Manichæan works and the Buddhist *Suttas* and the *Pātimokkha*, and says that according to Cyril of Jerusalem, the Manichæan scriptures were written by one Scythianus and revised by his disciple Terebinthus who changed his name to Boddas.[3] He finds in this "jumble" allusions to Buddha, Sākyamuni and the Bo-tree. It may further be

[1] *Ibid*, p. 446; *The Dacca University Journal*, Feb., 1926, pp. 108, 111; *JRAS.*, 1913, 69, 76, 81; Thomas, *The Life of Buddha*, xiii.

[2] P. 310.

[3] *Cf.* McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 185:

"Terebinthus proclaimed himself learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians and gave out that his name was no longer Terebinthus but that he was a new Buddha (Buddas) and that he was born of a virgin. Terebinthus was the disciple of Scythianus, who was a Saracen born in Palestine and who traded with India."

pointed out that some *Jātaka* tales show a surprising similarity to some of the stories in the *Arabian Nights*. The *Samugga Jātaka* (No. 436), for instance, tells the story of the demon (*dānava*) who put his beautiful wife in a box and so guarded her in order that she might not go astray. But this did not prevent her from taking pleasure with others. The tale in all its essentials recurs in the *Arabian*

The *Jātaka* verse,

> "He his true bliss in solitude will find,
> Afar from woman and her treachery"

is comparable to the statement of the poet in the *Arabian Nights*:

> "Never trust in women; nor rely upon
> their vows;
> For their pleasure and displeasure
> depend upon their passions.
> They offer a false affection; for perfidy
> lurks within their clothing."

Whatever may be the case at the present day, in times gone by, Western Asia was clearly not altogether outside the sphere of the intellectual and spiritual conquests of Buddhism.

[1] On reading the *JRAS.*, 1890, 504, I find that the suggestion is already made there. See also Olcott, *Stories from the Arabian Nights*, p. 3; Lane's *Arabian Nights*, pp. 8-9. A similar story is *found* in *Lambaka* x, *Taraṅga* 8 of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*; Penzer, *The Ocean of Story*, Vol. V, pp. 151-152. "So attachment to women, the result of infatuation, produces misery to all men. But indifference to them produces the discerning emancipation from the bonds of existence."

CHAPTER XII

A Note on the Vastrāpatha-Māhātmya of the Skanda Purāṇa

The value of the *Purāṇas* as "the most systematic record of Indian historical tradition" has long been recognised by scholars, and the dynastic lists contained in them have been largely utilised in reconstructing the political history of Ancient India. Unfortunately attention has hitherto been focussed mainly on the *Bhavishyānukīrtana* sections, and one famous author makes himself responsible for the dictum that "all the historical statements of the *Purāṇas* are given in the form of prophecy, in order to maintain the appearance of great antiquity in the books, which in their oldest forms were undoubtedly very ancient."[1] As the account of the "future" kings in these prophetic passages "stops with the imperial Guptas and their contemporaries," the value of the Purāṇic texts as sources of post-Gupta traditional history has not been sufficiently examined.

It will be our endeavour in this short note to call attention to a legend in the extant *Skanda Purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī Edition) in which we come across certain historical allusions that are not given in the form of prophecy, and can be made to yield information about kings who flourished long after the passing away of the Imperial Guptas.

In the *Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa*, there is a section called *Vastrāpatha-māhātmya* which is a collection of tales about the sacred sites of Vastrāpatha or Girnār in Surāshṭra or Kāthiāwāḍ. The most conspicuous features of this region are the Mount Raivataka and the river

[1] Smith, EHI⁴, p. 23.

Suvarṇarekhā, or Svarṇarekhā[1] perhaps identical with the Suvarṇasikatā which is mentioned along with the Palāśinî in the Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of the great Śaka Satrap Rudradāman.[2] Regarding the sanctity of this holy spot we have the following story :—

In the days of yore there lived in Kānyakubja (Kanauj) a king named Bhoja.[3] Once upon a time there came to him a *Vanapāla* (Warden of the Forest) who said, " Sire (*deva*) I have seen a woman with the face of a doe roaming with a herd of deer in the forests at Raivataka."[4] The king's curiosity was roused. Collecting his troops he marched towards Raivataka and encircled the hill with a net. The deer-maiden was captured by the *Balādhyaksha* (general), and was taken by the king to Kānyakubja, where she recounted the story of her previous births, and spoke about the spiritual efficacy of the holy waters of the Suvarṇa-rekhā. The king was much impressed with what he heard about Surāshṭra and its holy spots from the maiden and a Brāhmaṇa from Kurukshetra, and expressed his resolve to abdicate in favour of his son,[5] so that he might be free to undertake a pilgrimage to those sacred spots.

There are details in this, as in other priestly legends, which belong to the domain of fairy tales, and are absolutely unworthy of serious consideration. But there are three

[1] *Etad Raivatakaṁ kshetraṁ Vastrāpatham iti smṛtam*
Suvarṇarekhā yatrasthā nadî pātakanāśinî
(*Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa, Vastrāpatha-kshetra-māhātmya*, i. 2-3).

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, viii. 46.

[3] *Kānyakubje mahākshetre rājā Bhojeti viśrutaḥ*
Purā puṇyayuge dharmyaḥ prajā dharmeṇa śāsati
(*Vastrāpatha-māhātmya*, VI. 20).

[4] *Ibid.*, verses 22 f., 127-129 : " *Surāshṭradeśe bhavitā......*
......mṛigī Raivatake girau."

[5] *Ibid.*, x. 15.

points which deserve examination. These are (1) the mention of a king Bhoja who reigned at Kanauj, (2) the connection of that king with Surāshṭra as evidenced by the appointment of a *Vanapāla*[1] and the despatch of an army,[2] and (3) his abdication in favour of his son.

As to the first, inscriptions discovered at Barah[3] (near Cawnpore), Daulatpurā[4] (in Jodhpur State), Deogaḍh[5] (in Jhansi), Gwalior,[6] Pehevā[7] (in Karnal) and Ahār[8] (in Bulandshahr District), prove that there was actually in the Gurjara Pratihāra dynasty of Northern India a king named Bhoja who had his capital at Mahodaya or Kanauj[9] and whose dates probably ranged from V. S. 893 to H. S. 398, *i.e.*, A.D. 866 to 904-5. The name Bhoja was also borne by one of his grandsons, as we learn from the Bengal Asiatic Society's plate of the *Mahārāja* Vināyakapāladeva issued[10] from Mahodaya.

[1] *Ibid.*, vi. 22 f.

[2] *Ibid.*, vi. 25 f.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, xix (1927), 15 f.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, v. pp. 208 f. ; *JARS*, 1909, p. 265.

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, iv. 309 f.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, i. 157 f. ; xviii. 99.

[7] *Ep. Ind.*, i. 184 f.

[8] *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, Vol. III. "The Ahar Stone Inscription" by C. D. Chatterjee.

[9] In *Ep. Ind.*, xix (p. 17), Mr. H. Sāstrī opines that Mahodaya was not Kānyakubja, and that *Skandhāvārā* does not mean *rājadhānī*.

Regarding the identity of Mahodaya, see *Sabdakalpadruma*: *Mahodayaṁ puraviśeshaḥ—tatparyāyaḥ Kānyakubjaṁ Gādhipuraṁ Kauśaṁ Kuśasthalam iti Hemachandraḥ*. *Cf.* Srī Kānyakubja of the Khālimpur Ins. of Dharmapāla and Mahodaya-śrī of the Bhāgalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla; also *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, Act X, 86-90, and *Kāvya-Mīmāṁsā*, p. xxiii. As to *Skandhāvāra*, see *Pavanadūta*: *Skandhāvāraṁ Vijayapuram ity-unnatāṁ rājadhānīm.*

[10] Kielhorn, *Northern Ins.*, No. 544.

Regarding the second point we should note that Nāgabhaṭa II, grandfather of Bhoja, is known to have held the hill-forts of Ānarta (in Kāthiāwāḍ),[1] and the supremacy of Mahendrapāla I, son and successor of Bhoja, was acknowledged by Śrî Dhīika, Balavarman and his son Avanivarman II Yoga who ruled over parts of the "Saurāshṭra Maṇḍala".[2] As (Vāhuka)dhavala, great-grand-father of Avanivarman II, claims to have defeated Dharma(pāla), the great rival of Nāgabhaṭa II, great grandfather of Mahendra, it is not improbable that the family of Avanivarman II had entered into feudatory relations with the Imperial Pratihāras as early as the time of Nāgabhaṭa II, and it was apparently under his banner that Vāhukadhavala marched against Dharmapāla.[3] In view of the political relation between Surāshṭra and Kanauj existing from the time of Nāgabhaṭa II to that of his great-grandson Mahendrapāla, the episode of the *Vastrāpatha-māhātmya* acquires a new significance. The Haḍḍālā plates of the Chāpa *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Dharaṇîvarāha, a feudatory of the *Rājādhirāja* Mahîpāladeva,[4] supply us with an additional link in the chain connecting Kāthiāwāḍ with the Pratihāras of Kanauj.

Regarding point (3), *viz.*, that relating to the alleged abdication of Bhoja, king of Kanauj, we should refer to the anomaly presented by the inscription of the time of Mahendrapāla I, dated 893-94, and the Āhār stone inscription furnishing the dates 864-865, 865-866, 867-868, 886, 886-887, 888-889, 902-903 and 904-905 and purporting to belong to the reign of his father Bhoja. Mr. C. D. Chatterjee seeks to explain the anomaly in two ways.

[1] Sāgar Tāl Ins., *Arch. S.I.R.*, 1903-4, 281; *Ep. Ind.*, xviii, p. 108, ed. by R. C. Majumdār.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, ix. 1f.

[3] R. D. Banerji, *Bāṅgālāra Itihāsa*, p. 167.

[4] Kielhorn, *Northern Ins.*, No. 353.

"One of them is to assume that a portion of the (Āhār) inscription was engraved in A.D. 865-866 during the administration of Bhoja I, but other portions were added later on." The other is to surmise that "the mention of the different dates for the different gifts, brought together for record in one and the same inscription, indicates that there was a transfer to stone of a copy of all the deeds made on less durable materials, later than 904-905 A.D." But the possibility that Bhoja actually abdicated temporarily about A.D. 893 cannot be entirely excluded in view of the king's resolve alluded to in the *Skanda Purāṇa* :—

Tyaktvā rājyaṁ priyān putrān
pattyaśva-ratha-kuñjarān
putraṁ rājye pratiṣṭhāpya
gantavyaṁ niśchitaṁ mayā.[1]

In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we have the instance of king Ananta abdicating in favour of his son Kalasa and again resuming control over a part of the kingdom.[2] There are certain indications which point to the fact that Bhoja I was not the only king of the Pratihāra line of Kanauj whose reign ran into that of his son. The reign of Vināyakapāla, (931-954)[3] for instance, is in part co-eval with that of his son Mahendrapāla II (946 A.D.),[4] and Mahendra's brother or cousin Devapāla (948-49).[5] It is easy to suggest that we have to do with two different Vināyakas, one flourishing before Mahendrapāla II, and the other after Devapāla. But anything in the nature of a proof is not forthcoming, and

[1] *Vastrāpatha-māhātmya*, x, 15.

[2] *Taraṅga*, vii, 231-233, 245, 322 f.

[3] Majumdār, *Gurjara Pratihāras*, pp. 54 (esp. the footnote) and 62.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, xiv, p. 176 f.

[5] Kielhorn, *Northern Ins.*, No. 31; *Ep. Ind.*, i. 173, xiv. 179-180.

conjectural duplication of kings in such cases is not always a satisfactory solution of the problem, specially in view of the fact that simultaneous rule of father and son,[1] or of uncle and nephew,[2] and the abdication of a father in favour of his son,[3] and resumption of control on account of the son's incapacity,[4] or other reason, are not rare phenomena in Ancient Indian History.

[1] *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. I, 572-573; Smith, *EHI*, p. 486 (conjoint reign of Chola kings).

[2] *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. I, 574, 578.

[3] *Cf.* the case of Ananta in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, and of Vigrahapāla :—

Tapo mamāstu rājyaṁ te
dvābhyām uktam idaṁ dvayoḥ
yasmin Vigrahapālena
Sagareṇa Bhagīrathe.
(Bhāgalpur Plate).

[4] *Cf.* the case of Kalasa in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. In the *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, etc.*, p. cxxiv ff., Rapson points out that the satrap Jîvadāman reigned twice, and the two reigns are separated by a long interval during which his uncle Rudrasiṁha I appears twice as Kshatrapa and Mahākshatrapa.

CHAPTER XIII

Epigraphic Notes

1. *Pārijāta and Govardhana*

The Daulatābād plates of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Śaṅkaragaṇa[1] after referring to Krishṇarāja I say : "His son was king Govindarāja who like Hari snatched away the glory of Śrî Pārijāta and supported Govardhana." The Purāṇic allusion is clear enough. But the reference in the case of king Govinda are not so certain. Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, who edited the plates, has suggested the identification of Govardhana with the province of the same name mentioned in several Nāsik cave inscriptions. But the identification of Pārijāta is yet uncertain. I propose to identify it with Pārichāta (=Pāriyātra=the Western Vindhya[2]) mentioned in the Nāsik *praśasti* of Gautamîputra Śātakarṇi.[3] The change of ' j ' into ' ch ' is not unusual in southern India. For instance, the Western Gaṅga king 'Rājamalla' was also called ' Rāchamalla.'[4]

2. *Supratiṣṭhāhāra*

This name occurs in the Poona plates of the Vākāṭaka Queen Prabhāvatîguptā, edited by Prof. Pāṭhak and Mr. Dikshit.[5] The editors do not make any suggestion regarding the identification of the place. In the *Kathāsarit-*

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, ix, p. 193.

[2] Pārijāta may also refer to the 'Pāriyātra country mentioned by Bāṇa (Cowell and Thomas, *Harshacharita*, pp. 210-211) and Yuan Chwang.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, viii, p. 60.

[4] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 42.

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, xv, p. 39.

sāgara[1] mention is made of a city named Supratiṣṭhita in Pratiṣṭhāna (modern Paiṭhan), which was the ancestral home of Guṇāḍhya. There can be no doubt that Supratishṭhāhāra was the district (*āhāra*) round the city of Supratiṣṭha or Supratiṣṭhita. The inclusion of this district within the Vākāṭaka territory proves that the Vākāṭakas were not merely a dynasty of Berar, but ruled over a considerable part of Mahārāṣṭra. As the dynasty lasted from about A.D. 300 to 500,[2] it is no longer correct to say that "for some three centuries after the extinction of the Andhra dynasty, we have no specific information about the dynasties that ruled over the country," *i.e.*, Mahārāṣṭra.

3. *Vīra and Vardhana*

The Deopārā inscription[3] records that Vijayasena impetuously assailed the lord of Gauḍa, put down the prince of Kāmarūpa, defeated Kaliṅga and imprisoned four kings, namely, Nānya, Vîra, Rāghava and Vardhana. Nānya has been correctly identified with Nānyadeva of Tirhut, who lived in A.D. 1097 and afterwards established the Karṇāṭaka dynasty in the valley of Nepāl. Rāghava is the Kaliṅga prince of that name, who reigned about A.D. 1156.[4] Vîra and Vardhana have, however, not been satisfactorily identified. Dr. Smith suggests that Vîra was a Rājā of Kāmarūpa. Unfortunately the evidence of Sandhyākara Nandî's *Rāmacharita* has not been utilised in this connection. In the long list of princes who helped

[1] Tawney's translation, p. 32.

[2] V. A. Smith, "The Vākāṭaka Dynasty of Berar," *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 317-328.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, i, pp. 307-311.

[4] V. A. Smith, *The Early History of India*, 1914, p. 419.

Rāmapāla to recover Varendrî we find the following names :—

1. Vîraguṇa of Kōṭāṭavî.[1]
2. Vardhana of Kauśāmbî.
3. Vijayarāja of Nidrāvala.

Let us try to ascertain the dates of these princes. We learn from the Tirumalai Rock Inscription[2] of Rājendra Chola I that Mahîpāla I of Bengal was reigning in or about A.D. 1025. The Sārnāth inscription gives a date for him in A.D. 1026.[3] His son Nayapāla ruled for at least 15 years as we know from the Krishṇa-dvārikā temple inscription.[4] Nayapāla's son Vigrahapāla III could not, therefore, have come to the throne before A.D. 1026 + 15 = A.D. 1041. He ruled for at least 13 years (see the Āmagāchhi grant[5]), *i.e.*, up to at least A.D. 1054. After him came his sons Mahîpāla II and Śūrapāla II, and the Kaivartas Divvoka, Rudoka and Bhîma, and finally Rāmapāla who ruled for at least 42 years.[6] It is obvious that Rāmapāla reigned towards the close of the eleventh century and early in the twelfth century. The princes Vîra, Vardhana and Vijaya who helped him must have flourished about the same time.

We learn from the Naihāṭî grant[7] of Ballālasena that his ancestors were ruling in South-West Bengal (Rāḍhā)[8] long before the establishment of their paramount sovereignty by Vijayasena's victory over the (Pāla) king of Gauḍa.

[1] *Mem. ASB*, iii, pp. 36-37.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, xi, pp. 229-232.

[3] Smith, *Early History of India*, 1914, p. 399.

[4] *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 115.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 122.

[6] *Mem. ASB*, v, p. 92.

[7] *Ep. Ind.*, xiv, pp. 156-163.

[8] *Prauḍhāṁ Rāḍhām-akalitacharair-bhūshayanto'-nubhāvaiḥ*. The association of the Karṇāṭas—the race to which the Senas belonged—with the sovereigns of Bengal can be traced back to the time of Devapāla (*cf.* the Monghyr Plate).

We know further from the Deopārā inscription that Vijayasena was a contemporary of Nānyadeva. The latter flourished about A.D. 1097. There can be no objection in identifying him with Vijayarāja of the *Rāmacharita* who lived about the same time and ruled over a principality in the Gauḍa empire.[1] If this identification be correct, then Vîra and Vardhana must be Vîraguṇa of Kōṭāṭavî and Vardhana of Kauśāmbî. It seems reasonable to conclude that during the weak rule of the sons of Rāmapāla, the kinglets of the Gauḍa Empire who helped Rāmapāla to regain his throne, engaged in a struggle for supremacy[2] in the course of which Vîra, Vardhana, the rājā of Kāmarūpa and the lord of Gauḍa himself were worsted, and Vijayasena established the supremacy of his own family.

The conqueror's authority was probably next challenged by Nānya and Rāghava, the rulers of the neighbouring kingdoms of Mithilā and Kaliṅga,[3] who were also defeated and imprisoned.

[1] The identification was first suggested by Mr. N. N. Basu.

[2] The Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva, minister and general of Kumārapāla, son and successor of Rāmapāla, refers to wars and rebellions in South Bengal and Kāmarūpa (see *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 128, *et seq.*). Vijayasena's principality lay in south-west Bengal. Vîraguṇa's principality also lay in the south, *cf. Mem. ASB*, v, p. 89.

[3] Among other rivals was probably Vikramāṅka (= Sāhasāṅka) of Kalyāṇa (1076-c1127) as the epithet *Vikrama-tiraskṛita-Sāhasāṅka* of the Naihaṭî grant seems to suggest.

CHAPTER XIV

The Lakṣmaṇasena Era

The universal belief among scholars is that the Lakṣmaṇasena Era originated with the Sena Dynasty of Bengal. According to one group of scholars[1] the era marks the accession of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal, son of Ballālasena (Ballāl Sen), who is represented by Dhoyi as ruling in the city of Vijayapura. Professor Kielhorn has proved that the first day of the era was October 7, A.D. 1119, and the first current year, as reckoned from the era, was A.D. 1119-20. Consequently Lakṣmaṇasena must have ascended the throne in A.D. 1119, and died before 1170, as an inscription of the year 51 of the era speaks of his reign as *atīta* or past.

According to another group of scholars[2] the era commemorates the accession or coronation of a predecessor of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal who himself ruled in the last quarter of the twelfth century A.D.

Both the views are open to serious objections. The first theory is opposed not only to the evidence of certain passages of the *Dānasāgara*, and the *Adbhutasāgara*, two works attributed to king Ballālasena (Ballāl Sen), the father of Lakṣmaṇasena, but also to the testimony of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* which was written by Minhāj-i-Sirāj in A.H. 658 (A.D. 1260).

[1] *E.g.*, Kielhorn, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIX, p. 2; R. D. Banerji, *J. & P. A. S. B.*, Vol. IX, 1913, p. 273, *et seq.*; S. Kumār, *Ind. Ant.*, 1913, p. 188.

[2] *E.g.*, M. Chakravarti, *J. & P. A. S. B.* (N.S.), Vol. I (1905), p. 48, *et. seq.*; V. A. Smith, *The Early History of India*, Third Edition, p. 418.

Two manuscripts of the *Dānasāgara* contain the following passage :[1]

nikhila-bhūpa-chakra-tilaka-śrîmad-Ballālasenena pūrṇe śaśi-navadaśamite Śakavarshe Dānasāgaro rachitaḥ.

One of these manuscripts is in the India Office collection and in this the date is given in numerical figures also. The other is in the possession of Babu Nagendra Nāth Basu. This manuscript contains two more verses elucidating the date.

A manuscript of the *Adbhutasāgara* now in the collection of the Bombay Government, contains the following verse :—

śāke khanavakhendvabde ārebhe'dbhuta-sāgaraṁ
Gauḍendra- kuñjarālāna-stambhabāhur mahîpatiḥ

The agreement of the dates from two different works seems to prove beyond doubt that Ballālasena (Ballāl Sen), father of Lakṣmaṇasena, was alive in the Saka years 1090-91, *i.e.*, A.D. 1168-69. Consequently it has to be admitted that Lakṣmaṇasena ascended the throne, not in the year A.D. 1119, but after A.D. 1169.

The passages of the *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhutasāgara* quoted above have been rejected as late interpolations by Mr. R. D. Banerji.[2] The evidence of Minhāj-i-Sirāj cannot, however, be dismissed so summarily. According to the narrative contained in the *Ṭabaqāt-Nāṣirî*, written by Minhāj in A.H. 658 (A.D. 1260), Rāe Lakhmaniya (Rājā

[1] *J. & P. A. S. B.* (New Series), Vol. IX, 1913, p. 274.
[2] *J. & P. A. S. B.* (New Series), Vol. IX, 1913, p. 275.

Lakshmaṇa) was ruling in Bengal at the time of the Nudîah raid of Muhammad bin Bakhtyār, which took place after A.H. 589 and "some years" before A.H. 601, *i.e.*, between A.D. 1193 and 1205.[1]

The second theory seeks to reconcile the dates of Ballālasena (Ballāl Sen) and Lakṣmaṇasena given in the *Dānasāgara*, the *Adbhutasāgara*, and the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirî*, with the initial date of the Lakṣmaṇasena Era, as determined by Kielhorn, by attributing the establishment of the era to a predecessor of Lakṣmaṇa. But this theory ignores the fact that the era of A.D. 1119 is distinctly called *Lakṣmaṇābda* and *Lakṣmaṇasena-varṣa* in several ancient manuscripts discovered by MM. Paṇḍıt Haraprasād Śāstrī.[2] Again, it does not satisfactorily explain why the word *atîta* is used in reference to the *rājya* of Lakṣmaṇasena in the Bodh-Gayā inscription of the year 51 (A.D. 1170).

There is another important fact which has been ignored by both the groups of scholars mentioned above. The Sena kings of Bengal never use the era which they are said to have established. All the inscriptions of this dynasty hitherto discovered are dated in regnal years. Even the records of Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena, the two sons of Lakṣmaṇasena, form no exception. The copper-plate inscription of Vijayasena is dated in the year 31 (or 62).[3] The Naihāṭî grant of Ballālasena is dated in the year 11.[4] The Tarpaṇadîghi and Ānulia grants, and the Dacca Chaṇḍî image inscription of the time of Lakṣmaṇasena, are dated

[1] Smith, *The Early History of India*, Third Edition, pp. 416-17.

[2] *J. & P. A. S. B.* (New Series), Vol. II, 1906, p. 16; *cf.* '*A. Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts belonging to the Darbar Library, Nepal*, pp. 33, 51.

[3] R. D. Banerji, *Bāṅgālāra Itihāsa*, pp. 290-91; N. G. Majumdār, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, 59.

[4] R. D. Banerji, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIV, pp. 156-163.

in the years 2 and 3.[1] The Madanapāḍa grant of Viśvarūpasena is dated in the year 14. The Edilpur grant of Keśavasena is dated in the year 3.[2] These dates do not suggest a continuous reckoning. A glance at them is sufficient to show that they are the regnal years of the reigning monarchs, and not years of the Lakshmaṇasena Era.[3]

On the contrary we find that the era is used in Bihār and is associated with a line of Sena kings who are described as lords of Pîṭhî. The Jānîbighā inscription records the grant of a village to the Vajrāsana for the residence of the Ceylonese monk Maṅgalasvāmin, by king Jayasena, the lord of Pîṭhî, son of Buddhasena.[4] The inscription bears the date, the year 83 of the Lakṣmaṇasena Era, the 15th day of the bright half of the month of Kārttika. Mr. Jayaswal has pointed out that the commentator of the *Rāmacharita* explains the word *Pîṭhî-pati* (lord of Pîṭhî) by *Magadhādhipa*.[5] Consequently Jayasena was a king of South Bihār.

Another epigraph discovered at Bodh-Gayā[6] mentions Buddhasena, father of Jayasena, describes him as *Pîṭhî-pati*, and represents him as a contemporary of Aśokachalla,

[1] R. D. Banerji, *Bāṅgālāra Itihāsa*, pp. 297-98; N.G. Majumdār, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, 100.

[2] R. D. Banerji, *Bāṅgālāra Itihāsa*, p. 323, *J.A.S.B.*, lxv, Part I, p. 15; *J.A.S.B.*, vii, Part I, p. 46; and *J. & P.A.S.B.* (New Series), x, 104.

[3] When the Senas of Bengal (or their court *Pundits*) do use an era, as in the *Dānasāgara*, the *Adbhutasāgara* and the *Saduktikarṇāmṛita* it is the Saka Era, and not the Lakshmaṇasena Era, that is so used.

[4] N. G. Majumdār, Patna Museum Inscription of Jayasena, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLVIII, 1919, p. 47.

[5] *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. IV, p. 267; *cf.* also *Bāṅgālāra Itihāsa*, p. 257, n (43).

[6] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLVIII, 1919, p. 45.

king of a Himālayan district, two of whose inscriptions found at Bodh-Gayā bear the dates 51 and 74 of the Lakshmaṇasena Era.[1]

In his *Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts belonging to the Darbar Library, Nepal*, MM. Paṇdit Hara prasād Śāstrî notices some fifty-seven manuscripts which contain colophons dated in the Lakṣmaṇa Saṁvat, ranging from the year 91 (in the manuscript No. 400, p. 15) to the year 558 (No. 1076 [ক্ষ], p. 31). Most of these manuscripts are written in Maithila (Northern Bihāri) characters and the earliest dates (91 and 116) are found in the Maithila manuscripts. The evidence of these records and that of the Bodh-Gayā and the Jānîbighā inscriptions leaves no room for doubt that the earliest use of the Lakṣmaṇasena Era was confined to the province of Bihār.

In his note on "Trikuṭa and the so-called Kalachuri or Chedi Era,"[2] Dr. Fleet observes: "Any era may be introduced into a country in which it was not founded. But no era can have been founded in a country in which it was never used." We have seen that the Lakṣmaṇasena Era was never used in Bengal by its alleged founders, the Sena kings of Vijayapura. The earliest use of it was confined to Bihār where we have epigraphic evidence of the existence of a line of Sena kings who actually use the era. It is fair to conclude from this that the origin of the Lakṣmaṇasena Era is to be sought not in the Sena dynasty of Vijayapura (Bengal) but in the Sena dynasty of Pîṭhî (Bihār). King Jayasena was ruling in the year 83 of this era. His father, king Buddhasena, was a contemporary of Aśokachalla who lived in the years 51 and 74 of this era.

[1] Kielhorn, 'A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India'; Ins. Nos. 576 and 577, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 79.

[2] *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 568.

The parts of the Bodh-Gayā and Jānîbighā inscriptions which contain the dates 51, 74 and 83 run as follows[1] :—

Śrīmal-Lakhvana (kshmaṇa)-senasy
=ātītarājye Saṁ 51.
Śrīmal-Lakṣmaṇa-sena-deva-pādānām
=atītarājye Saṁ 74.
Lakṣmaṇa-senasy=ātītarājye Saṁ 83.

The most important point in these dates is the use of the word *atîta*. Professor Kielhorn remarks :

"During the reign of Lakshmaṇasena the years of his reign would be described *Śrīmal-Lakshmaṇa-sena-deva-pādānāṁ rājye* (or *pravardhamāna-vijayarājye*) *Saṁvat*, after his death the phrase would be retained, but *atîta* prefixed to the word *rājye*, to show that, although the years were still counted from the commencement of the reign of Lakshmaṇasena, that reign itself was a thing of the past."[2] The founder of the Lakṣmaṇasena Era whose reign was a thing of the past in the year 51 (=A.D. 1170) cannot be identified with Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal, the son and successor of the author of the *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhuta-sāgara*, who was driven out of Nudîah by Muhammad bin Bakhtyār at some date subsequent to the taking of Delhi by the Muhammadans in A.H. 589, which is practically equivalent to A.D. 1193, and prior to Muhammad's

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLVIII, 1919, p. 171. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pp. 29-30.

[2] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIX, p. 2. The analogy of the Gayā Inscription of Govindapāla (V. 1232) suggests that like *gatarājya* of that record, *atīta-rājya* can have no reference to any change resulting from the Muslim conquest.

Cf. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 439 (*Śrī-Vikrama-kāl-ātīta*) ; No. 346 (*Mālaveśa-gata-vatsara*) ; No. 1112 (*Śaka-nṛipater-atītā abdāḥ*). In these cases *atīta*, etc. does not indicate the existence of two Vikrama or Saka era.

expedition into the hills of the N.E. frontier, called Tibbat (Tibet) by the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, which took place in A.H. 601 (August 1204-August 1205).

If the founder of the Lakṣmaṇasena Era was not identical with king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal, he must have been the founder of the Sena dynasty of Pîṭhî.[1] This explains why his reckoning is perpetuated by king Jayasena of Pîṭhî, but is never used by any Sena king of Bengal, not even by Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena, the sons and immediate successors of king Lakṣmaṇa of Bengal. This also explains why the era is used in the records of Bodh-Gayā and Mithilā from the first century of its existence, but never appears in a Bengali manuscript till 171 years have elapsed from the time of the founder. The era is not connected with a Gauḍa king till the year 432.

[1] For a Buddhist Lakshmaṇasena, *cf. History of Bengal* (Dacca University), p. 358 and n. 3.

CHAPTER XV

Some Aspects of the Ancient Indian Social Organization*

Every civilized nation of the world has its own distinct type of polity. The factors determining the social and socio-political organization are, however, not the same in all lands. We find one set of principles behind the division of the Babylonians into the *Awilum* (noble), the *Mushkenum* (humbler folk), and the slave; another accounts for the classification of Iranians into *Athravas* (priests), *Rathaesthas* (warriors), etc. A third set of ideas is at the bottom of the distinction in Athens between Eupatrids (nobles), the Geomori (husbandmen), and the Demiurgi (artisans). We may also refer to the division of the early Romans into Patricians and Plebs.

The classification of Indians who follow the Hindu discipline is said to rest on *varṇa* and *jāti*, colour and birth. *Varṇa* or colour, in the sense of a pigment of the skin or ethnic origin, was undoubtedly a factor of primary importance in the early Vedic polity. Mention may be made in this connection of the distinction between the fair complexioned (*Śvitnya*)[1] Aryans and the darkskinned aboriginals called *Dāsa* or *Dasyu*. The high-blown Aryan of the *Ṛigveda*, probably the earliest literary monument of the Indo-Aryans, never forgets that his own colour is distinct from that of the *Dāsa*.[2] Other distinctions are also alluded to. The *Dāsa-Dasyus* are 'noseless' (*anāsa*) and of 'hostile speech'. They have little faith in Aryan gods and sacrifices,

*Based on a lecture delivered at the Rāmakṛishṇa Mission Institute of Culture on August 21, 1943.

[1] *Ved. Ind.*, I. 356.

[2] I. 104, 2; III, 34. 9.

and were probably worshippers of the phallus.[1] Divergences of mythology and mode of worship are frequently adverted to.[2]

It is clear that we have here a division of the people into two broad groups on the basis of ethnic and, at the same time, of cultural differences. As a result, however, of assimilation through inter-marriage with peoples outside the Vedic pale, and other processes, a number of blue-blooded Aryans must have in course of time lost their original complexion, and thus the old distinction of the people into the *Ārya-varṇa* and the *Dāsa-varṇa* gradually lost its primary significance excepting in outlying tracts like Yona and Kamboja (*Majjhima*, II. 149). Moreover, the word *varṇa* soon came to be applied to four, instead of two, social groups. This was the direction towards which ancient Indian society was moving in the period represented by the later Vedic texts. Treatises like the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[3] distinctly refer to *chatvāro varṇāḥ* or the four 'colours', *i.e.*, social classes or grades. These *varṇas* are usually mentioned as (a) *Brahman*, Brāhmaṇa, or *Deva*; (b) *Rājan*, *Rājanya*, or Kshatriya; (c) Vaiśya or Ārya; and (d) Śūdra, roughly answering, perhaps, to the *Chaṇḍāla* of the *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad*[4] and the *Dāsa-Dasyu* of earlier texts. But the relative precedence of the four grades was rather indeterminate in the early period. The *Atharvaveda*[5] and the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*[6] of the *Yajurveda*, while speaking of the four classes, gives the Śūdra the third place in the order of

[1] *Cf.* VII. 21. 5; X. 99. 3.

[2] I. 33. 4-5; IV. 16. 9; V. 7. 10; 42. 9; VIII. 70. 10; X. 22 7-8, etc.

[3] V. 5. 4. 9; VI. 4. 4. 13; cf. *Ved. Ind.*, II, p. 247.

V. 10. 7.

[5] XIX. 32. 8.

[6] XXVI. 2; cf. *Ved. Ind.*, II. 252 for other references.

enumeration, and the Ārya or Vaiśya the fourth. The *Maitrāyani Saṁhitā*[1] places the Vaiśya before the *Rājanya*. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[2] distinctly speaks of the superiority of the Kshatriya over all other classes, *tasmāt kṣatrāt paraṃ nāsti*. That the *chaturvarṇa* system, as distinguished from the older two-fold division into *Āryas* and *Dāsa-Dasyus*, did not entirely rest on *birth* seems to be proved by such Vedic stories as that of the sage Kavasha who apparently ranked as a *Brāhmaṇa*, but was alleged to have been born of a *Dāsī* or *Dāsa* woman.[3] A famous *Ṛigvedic*[4] poet-sage (Kāru) had for his parents, or according to another interpretation, children, a physician (*bhiṣak*) and a grinder of corn (*upala-prakṣinī*). The lady mentioned last appears at any rate to have pursued an occupation fit for plebeians. According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[5] king Janaka who belonged to the *Rājanya-Kṣatra* class became a Brāhmaṇa by virtue of his superior knowledge. The same *Brāhmaṇa*[6] adds that some of the king's ministers were Śūdras.

The case of Kavasha Ailusha clearly suggests that admixture of Aryan and non-Aryan elements was not unknown in later Vedic society. It is, therefore, clear that social divisions (*chaturvarṇa*) at this period cannot be explained simply in terms of pure ethnic extraction. Some Vedic texts attempt a distinction between the white (*śukla*) Brāhmaṇa and Vaiśya, and the swarthy (*dhūmra*) and dark *Rājanya* and Śudra.[7] The point of difference is empha-

[1] IV. 4. 9; cf. *Ved. Ind.*, II. 252 n 49.

[2] XIV. 4. 2. 23.

[3] *Cf.* the case of the dark-complexioned sage (Kṛiṣṇa) Dvaipāyana Vyāsa born of a fishermaid according to the *Mahābhārata*.

[4] IX. 112. 3.

[5] XI. 6. 2. 10; cf. *Ved. Ind.*, II. 262.

[6] V. 3. 2. 2; *Ved. Ind.*, II. 390 n. 21.

[7] *Cf. Ved. Ind.*, II. 247.

sized by reference to the contrast presented by day and night. The authors in question must have noticed men and women lacking the Aryan 'colour' not only in the Śūdras but even in the aristocratic *Rājanya* class. One is reminded of the complexion of epic heroes and heroines, Rāma, Kṛiṣṇa-Vāsudeva, Arjuna, and Draupadī-Kṛiṣṇā.

Diversity of 'colour' did not moreover blind the eyes of the Vedic sages to a proper appreciation of the underlying unity of the social organism, nay of the whole universe. In the domain of religion and philosophy, the many gods were being synthesized into one supreme reality (*cf.* 'To what is One, the poets give many a name,' 'That One alone breathed,' 'Brahman is all', *sarvaṁ khalvidaṁ Brahma*).[1] In a similar way the conception of an ultimate unity that absorbed the manifoldness of the social structure, makes its appearance as early as the tenth *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛigveda*. In the *Puruṣasūkta*, all the four social classes are represented as having their origin and being in the same *Puruṣa*. 'The Brāhmaṇa was his mouth; the *Rājanya* was made his arms; the Vaiśya constituted his thighs; the Śūdra sprang from his feet.' The account, as already pointed out by several scholars, bears on its face the stamp of allegory.

The Brāhmaṇa exercised his vocal organ in chanting hymns, the *Rājanya* employed his strong arms in defending his country and people; the tillers and traders, Vaiśyas, were the mainstay of society as the thighs are of the human body; the Śūdras had to make large use of their feet for a due performance of their plebeian duties. The connection of the Śūdra with the feet of the Supreme One need not by itself imply any social inferiority. The medieval Śūdra kings of the Andhra country point out that the sanctifying stream of the Ganges springs, like people of their own caste,

[1] *Ṛig.* I. 164. 46; X. 129; *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad*, III. 14. 1.

from the lotus-feet of Śauri, *i.e.*, Vishṇu the Supreme Being.[1] The most significant fact in the *Puruṣasūkta* is the absence of any reference to tegumental or ethnic difference as the basis of the classification of society. Members of the four social grades are represented as integral parts of the same organism, albeit with different functions. Thus we have in the famous hymn, which is the Magna Charta of the Hindu social polity, recognition of the organic unity of society with implied functional differences. It has been rightly pointed out by scholars in connection with a few other hymns that the word Brāhmaṇa at times suggests something peculiar to the *individual* and denotes a person *distinguished for genius or virtue*[2] or *elevated by special characteristics to receive the gift of inspiration.*[3]

As centuries rolled by, a large number of occupational or professional groups formed within the bosom of society. From ages past people in this country have shown a marked tendency to follow the traditional calling of their forbears. Many members of the occupational groups preferred the ancestral avocation. This tendency, together with other factors such as the admission into the Brahminical polity of new tribes and clans, somtimes from well-defined geographical areas, with their own ideas about *mana* ('a power and influence, not physical, and in a way supernatural'), and rules regarding connubium and commensality, may have been responsible for the wide vogue, side by side with *varṇa*, of the important word *jāti* which primarily meant 'birth,' but later, by an extension of the sense, also a social group the membership of which was supposed to be based on *birth*. With the gradual crystallization of such groups into exclusive and inelastic units to which the designation

[1] Cf. तत्र चतुर्थो वर्णः शौरेः पादपद्मसंभवो जयति ।
यस्य सहजा स्रवन्ती त्रिभिः प्रवाहैः पुनाति भुवनानि ॥ (*Ep. Ind.* III. 61, 64).

[2] X. 107. 6.

[3] X. 125. 5.

caste properly applies, the importance of *birth* as the main determining factor in social classification was recognized by a notable fraternity of law-givers and publicists. The institution styled *varṇa* at times comprised several such *jātis* or castes.[1] It was not unnatural for jurists of the type mentioned above, to attribute to the bigger social unit (*viz.*, the *varṇa*) characteristics of the *jātis* of which it was believed to be an agglomeration. Soon the two concepts of *varṇa* and *jāti* got confused, and the terms came sometimes to be used synonymously.

There were, however, leaders of thought who viewed matters from a different angle. They pointed to a special import of the fourfold social division (*chaturvarṇa*), as distinguished, on the one hand, from the dualism of the early Vedic period and, on the other, from the new organization of infinitesimal birth-groups or *jātis*. According to them, the *chaturvarṇa* system had absolutely nothing to do with *jāti* or birth, but was broad-based on character and conduct.

In post-Vedic literature, especially in the epics, two currents of thought—one basing social distinction on birth, the other on *vṛitta* (conduct)—are found running in parallel streams. The theory of the first group of writers which holds the field in large measure even in our own times, and is represented in such epic passages as *yena jātaḥ sa eva saḥ*,[2] is too well known to need any elaboration. But even to this school, birth implied by the expressions *jāti* and *janman* does not in all cases refer only to a physical fact, but has sometimes a cultural and spiritual significance, as is clearly suggested by the use of the word *dvija*, which points to a second (non-material) birth, and the term *santati*, spiritual offspring. It may further be noted that social status claimed on the basis of birth alone was not held in any great esteem as the disparaging expressions *Brahma-*

[1] *Manu*, X. 43. [2] *Mbh.*, XII. 296. 3.

bandhu, *Rājanya-bandhu* and *Kshatra-bandhu*[1] very clearly suggest.

The exponents of a higher thought never forgot the essential evenness and unity of society. They based social status not on the accident of birth but on the spiritual quality and activities of man and boldly proclaimed the truth that 'there is nothing nobler than man' (*guhyaṁ Brahma tadidaṁ vo bravīmi na mānuṣāchchhreṣṭhataraṁ hi kiñchit*).[2]

The sense in which the epics understood the term *varṇa*, presents interesting features. The colours of the Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra is said to have been white, red, yellow, and black respectively. But it is emphasized that there is no essential difference (*viśeṣa*) amongst the *varṇas*, as originally all men were Brāhmaṇas or emanations from Brahman. They were, however, grouped into grades according to complexion based on character and conduct. The idea is said to be that the physical complexion of a man is conditioned by his spiritual nature and deeds.

ब्राह्मणानां सितो वर्णः क्षत्रियाणां तु लोहितः ।
वैश्यानां पीतको वर्णः शूद्राणामसितस्तथा ॥
न विशेषोऽस्ति वर्णानां सर्वं ब्राह्ममिदं जगत् ।
ब्रह्मणा पूर्वसृष्टं हि कर्मभिर्वर्णतां गतम् ॥
कामभोगप्रियास्तीक्ष्णाः क्रोधनाः प्रियसाहसाः ।
त्यक्तस्वधर्मा रक्तांगास्ते द्विजाः क्षत्रतां गताः ॥
गोभ्यो वृत्तिं समास्थाय पीताः कृष्युपजीविनः ।
स्वधर्मान्नानुतिष्ठन्ति ते द्विजा वैश्यतां गताः ॥

[1] Cf. *Ved., Ind.*, II. 116; *Chhā. Up.*, V. 3. 5; Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 22.

[2] *Mbh.*, XII. 299. 20 ; cf. *Homo sum; humani nil a me alienum puto* (Terence).

हिंसानृतप्रिया लुब्धाः सर्वकर्मोपजीविनः ।
कृष्णाः शौचपरिभ्रष्टास्ते द्विजाः शूद्रतां गताः ॥
इत्येतैः कर्मभिर्व्यस्ता द्विजा वर्णान्तरं गताः ॥ etc.[1]

Nīlakaṇṭha says,

सितः स्वच्छः सत्त्वगुणः प्रकाशात्मा शमदमादिस्वभावः । लोहितो रजोगुणः प्रवृत्त्यात्मा शौर्यतेजआदिस्वभावः । पीतकः रजस्तमोभ्यामिश्रः कृष्यादिहीनकर्मप्रवर्तकः । असितः कृष्ण आवरणात्मा तमोगुणः स्वतः प्रकाशप्रवृत्तिहीनः शकटवत् परप्रेर्यः ॥

It is to be noted that the above theory not only discards the question of birth as the basis of the division into *varṇas*, but actually points to the identity of origin of all the four *varṇas*.

In the *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā-parvādhyāya*[2] of the *Mahābhārata*, Vāsudeva-Krisṇa says in very clear terms that the classification of the people into four *varṇas* is based on *guṇa-karma*, *i.e.*, spiritual quality and conduct. In another context[3] the god Śiva is represented as quoting a saying of Lord Brahman which declares :

एभिस्तु कर्मभिर्देवि शुभैराचरितैस्तथा ।
शूद्रो ब्राह्मणतां याति वैश्यः क्षत्रियतां व्रजेत् ॥

*   *   *   *   *

कर्मभिः शुचिभिर्देवि शुद्धात्मा विजितेन्द्रियः ।
शूद्रोऽपि द्विजवत् सेव्य इति ब्रह्माब्रवीत् स्वयम् ॥

*   *   *   *   *

न योनिर्नापि संस्कारो न श्रुतं न च संततिः ।
कारणानि द्विजत्वस्य वृत्तमेव तु कारणम् ॥
सर्वोऽयं ब्राह्मणो लोके वृत्तेन तु विधीयते ।
वृत्ते स्थितस्तु शूद्रोऽपि ब्राह्मणत्वं नियच्छति ॥

[1] *Mbh.*, XII. 188. 5, 10-14 (with Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary).
[2] Ch. IV. 13. Cf. XVIII. 42 ff.
[3] *Mbh.*, XIII. 143. 26, 48, 50-51, 59.

एतत्ते गुह्यमाख्यातं यथा शूद्रो भवेद्द्विजः ।
ब्राह्मणो वा च्युतो धर्माद्यथा शूद्रत्वमाप्नुते [1]

The verses quoted above go definitely to prove that, ccording to a very important school of thought, the *chaturvarṇa* system was not based on birth, performance of rites and ceremonies, sacred knowledge or spiritual succession,[2] but exclusively on *vṛitta* or conduct. A Brāhmaṇa might be degraded to the status of a Śūdra and a Śūdra might be elevated to that of a Brāhmaṇa by following particular modes of social behaviour. The words attributed to Vāsudeva (Vishṇu), Śiva and Brahman, the three manifestations of the supreme Spirit according to Hindu belief, cannot be regarded as less binding than the opinion and *obiter dicta* of law-givers and jurists of less exalted rank. Similar passages regarding conduct as the basis of the *varṇa* division are found in different parts of the *Mahābhārata*.[3]

Cf. सत्यं दानं क्षमा शीलमानृशंस्यं तपोघृणा ।
दृश्यन्ते यत्र नागेन्द्र स ब्राह्मण इति स्मृतः ॥

* * * *

शूद्रे तु यद्भवेल्लक्ष्म द्विजे तच्च न विद्यते ।
न वै शूद्रो भवेच्छूद्रो ब्राह्मणो न च ब्राह्मणः ॥
यत्रैतल्लक्ष्यते सर्वं वृत्तं स ब्राह्मणः स्मृतः ।
यत्रैतन्न भवेत् सर्वं तं शूद्रमिति निर्दिशेत् ॥

* * * *

कृतकृत्याः पुनर्वर्णा यदि वृत्तं न विद्यते ।

Nīlakaṇṭha rightly points out :

शूद्रोऽपि शमाद्युपेतो ब्राह्मण एव ब्राह्मणोऽपि कामाद्युपेतः शूद्र एवेत्यर्थः ।

[1] Cf. *Manu*, IV. 245 : ब्राह्मणः श्रेष्ठतामेति प्रत्यवायेन शूद्रताम् ।
and IX. 335. शुचिरुत्कृष्टशुश्रूषुर्मृदुवागनहंकृतः ।
ब्राह्मणाद्याश्रयो नित्यमुत्कृष्टां जातिमश्नुते ॥

[2] Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, V. 230.

[3] Cf. III. 180. 21, 25-26, 36.

But the learned commentator's interpretation of the word *vritta* as *vaidika-saṁskāra* is rendered implausible by the great epic itself [1] where *vritta* is clearly distinguished from *saṁskāra*, which includes *vaidika-saṁskāra*. The reference to *vritta* in connection with Śūdras who were precluded from the performance of Vedic rites, excludes the possibility of its meaning Vedic *saṁskāra*. While commenting on *Mbh.*, XII. 189. 8., Nīlakaṇṭha further says :

धर्म एव वर्णविभागे कारणं न जातिरित्यर्थः—

'righteousness and not birth is at the root of the *varṇa* division.' The views attributed to the Trinity in the Gītā and the *Śāntiparvan* receive a striking confirmation from the *Vanaparvan*. According to this Book,[2] the gods accept as Brāhmaṇas only those persons who possess the requisite spiritual quality. (Cf. यः क्रोधमोहौ त्यजति तं देवा ब्राह्मणं विदुः etc.). The *Mahābhārata*[3] actually refers to a number of personages such as Ārshṭishena, Sindhudvīpa, Devāpi, and Viśvāmitra who were originally not Brāhmaṇas, but were elevated to Brahmanahood on account of their spiritual worth.

Cf. यत्रार्ष्टिषेणः कौरव्य ब्राह्मण्यं संशितव्रतः ।
तपसा महता राजन् प्राप्तवान् ऋषिसत्तमः ॥
सिन्धुद्वीपश्च राजर्षिर्देवापिश्च महातपाः ।
ब्राह्मण्यं लब्धवान् यत्र विश्वामित्रस्तथा मुनिः ॥

The possibility of a change of *varṇa* is also recognized by the supplement to the *Mahābhārata* known as the *Harivaṁsa* :

नाभागरिष्टपुत्रौ द्वौ वैश्यौ ब्राह्मणतां गतौ ।[4]

Even the *Manusaṁhitā* which, in several passages prescribes a more or less rigid system of caste based on

[1] XIII. 143. 50-51. [2] Ch. 205. 33-38, [3] IX. 39. 34-35.

[4] Verse 658; *var. lect.* (Vaṅgavāsī edition, X. 0). नाभागरिष्टपुत्राश्च क्षत्रिया वैश्यतां गताः.

birth, could not altogether ignore the importance of *vṛitta* or or *guṇa-karma*. It is clearly stated in this work[1] that a Brāhmaṇa becomes a Śūdra by following a particular course of action. It is added that the son of a Brāhmaṇa is not a Brāhmaṇa simply by virtue of his birth. If he is negligent of his duties, he is no more than a *vrātya*, one fallen in social status.

The following verses, also, deserve notice :

शूद्रायां ब्राह्मणाज्जातः श्रेयसा चेत् प्रजायते ।
अश्रेयान् श्रेयसीं जातिं गच्छत्यासप्तमाद्युगात् ॥
शूद्रो ब्राह्मणतामेति ब्राह्मणश्चैति शूद्रताम् ।
क्षत्रियाज्जातमेवन्तु विद्याद्वैश्यात्तथैव च ॥[2]

The *Manusaṁhitā*[3] further describes how various tribes and clans (*jātayaḥ*) belonging to the Kṣatriya *varṇa* were gradually degraded to the status of *Vṛiṣalas*, deviators from approved social conduct, as a result of their neglect of prescribed duties. It is to be noted that we have in this context reference to a plurality of *jātis* included within the same *varṇa*, thus pointing to the difference between the two concepts, *jāti* and *varṇa*. The social status conferred by *varṇa* might be changed, even according to this prince of law-givers, through neglect of duties of a particular character.

It may be added that certain authorities regarded devotion to God as the principal factor that counted in determining the social position of man. According to this view, even barbarians and outcasts were worthy of honour if only they were devoted to the Lord. The *Svargakhaṇḍa*[4] of the *Padmapurāṇa* has the following verses :

[1] *Manu*, Ch. IV, 245.
[2] *Manu*, X. 64-65.
[3] X. 43.
[4] Vaṅgavāsī edition, XV. 152; XXIV. 11.

वैष्णवो वर्णबाह्योऽपि पुनाति भुवनत्रयम् ॥

* * * *

पुक्कशः श्वपचो वाऽपि ये चान्ये म्लेच्छजातयः ।
तेऽपि वन्द्या महाभागा हरिपादैकसेवकाः ॥

The liberal thought of the *Mahābhārata* finds support in certain passages of the sister epic. There was no bar to the attainment of the status of a *maharṣi* for a man even of mixed Vaiśya-Śūdra extraction. To this category belonged the son of the blind sage who figures in one of the most tragic episodes of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. He is represented as versed in the *śāstras* though born of a Śūdra mother and Vaiśya father : शूद्रायामस्मि वैश्येन जातो नरवराधिप.[1] Guha who was a Niṣāda is described as a *Rājan* and is treated as a *confrere* by prince Rāma sprung from one of the proudest of the Kṣatriya lines.[2] Sabarī, doubtless belonging to a tribe branded as *Dasyu* in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, is not only called *siddhā*, *tapodhanā* and *tāpasī*, but is allowed to touch the feet of Rāma and offer him *āchamanīya* and food.[3] The above sections of the *Rāmāyana* breathe an atmosphere that offers a striking contrast to that of the story of Śambuka as given in the supplementary book, doubtless of a later age, styled the *Uttarakāṇḍa*. Here we find a Śūdra forfeiting his life for the offence of performing penances. It is further stated that in the *Tretā* age only Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas could become *tapasvins*, not Vaiśyas and Śūdras.

In recalling the story of the martyred child-sage of Vaiśya-Śūdra extraction, it may not be out of place to say a few words about the social concept, *varṇa-saṅkara*. People coming under that category were usually regarded with disapproval. The term is often taken to mean the

[1] *Rāmāyana*, II. 63. 51 ; 64. 1 and 32.
[2] *Rām*. 50. 32 and 36.
[3] *Rām*. III. 74. 6-7, 18.

offspring of a mixed marriage. But it should be noted that mixed marriage when sanctioned by law and usage cannot fairly be included among the three causes specially mentioned by Manu[1] as giving rise to the *varṇa-saṅkara, viz. vyabhichāra* or illicit intercourse, *avedyā-vedana* or marrying a girl in violation of law (*e.g.*, incest hinted at in the *Ṛigvedic* story of Yama and Yamī and the tale of the Śākyas in Buddhist literature) and *svakarma-tyāga* or neglect of one's appointed duties.

Cf. व्यभिचारेण वर्णानामवेद्यावेदनेन च ।
स्वकर्मणांच त्यागेन जायन्ते वर्णसंकराः ॥

The Gītā[2] also emphasizes the ethical aspect of the matter in the passage—

स्त्रीषु दुष्टासु वार्ष्णेय जायते वर्णसंकरः ॥

Varṇa-saṅkara in reality suggests social anarchy, as *mātsyanyāya* connotes political chaos. The concept should not be confounded with that underlying inter-caste or inter-tribal marriage sanctioned by law or usage. Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, emperor of the Deccan, who claims to have been a Brāhmaṇa and a ruler who put an end to *varṇa-saṅkara*, is known to have had matrimonial relationship with the Śakas of Western India.

To conclude, the higher thought of the country meant the *varṇa* system of ancient India to be a code of social and socio-ethical discipline. Its basis according to this view was *guṇa-karma* or *vṛitta*, spiritual quality and conduct, and not mere birth or ceremonial correctitude.

A man born in a higher caste could be degraded even to the status of a Śūdra when his unrighteous acts demanded this punishment. Similarly, a man born in a lower caste was raised through his virtues to a higher social status.

[1] X. 24.
[2] I. 40.

That flexible code of social discipline which brought unity out of diversity, tended to degenerate in the hands of certain writers into a watertight set of rules based on birth and not character and conduct, thus sapping the dynamic force of Indian society and reducing it to a stagnant state.[1]

It is wrong to invoke the authority of the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* as the last word in social matters, as there were other authorities of equal or even greater weight whose point of view was different. 'There is nothing nobler than *Mānuṣa*,' whatever may be his birth or rank. This sums up the higher thought of India.

[1] Summary in *Modern Review*, Sept. 1943, p. 174.

CHAPTER XVI

THE TAPESTRY OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY*

My first words must be expressive of a most cordial welcome to the distinguished band of scholars, investigators and lovers of learning whom I am privileged to see around me to-day. I am using no conventional words when I tell you how much I value this opportunity of serving my co-workers and fellow students. It is the kindness that I have often received from my *confrères* that emboldens me to undertake a responsibility which, but for their goodwill and co-operation, it would be beyond my power to discharge.

We meet to-day in the Deccan—*Agastyamunijyotsnā-pavitre Dakṣiṇāpathe*— in the historic city besprinkled by the waters of the Musi, endowed with the mural crown by the Qutbshāhī sultans of Golconda, and rendered illustrious by the far-famed house of Āsaf Jāh. The fourth largest city in Bhāratavarsa, Bhāgnagar or Hyderābād, as it has been styled since the middle ages, is the metropolis of a realm which embraces within its boundaries the caves of Ajaṇṭā and Ellora, the shrines at Hanamkoṇḍa and Tūljāpur the mosques of Bodhan and Gulbarga, the capital cities of Paiṭhān and Warangal, the ramparts and battlements of Māhūr and Rāichūr, of Mudgal and Naldrug, of Daulatābād and Bīdar, of Parenda and Golconda. The recorded history of the people, whose hospitality we enjoy to-day, dates back to the age of the Ṛgvedic *Brāhmaṇas*. Beautiful monasteries, charming frescoes, solemn temples, lofty minārs, gorgeous palaces, splendid *madrasas* and majestic mosques added lustre to the names of the successive dynasties that presided over the destinies of the land in bygone times—

*Presidential Address (Section 1), delivered at the Indian History Congress, Fifth Session, Hyderabad, Deccan, December, 1941.

the Sātavāhanas, the Vākāṭakas, the Cālukyas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Kākatīyas, the Bahmanids—to name only a few of them. The monuments that they have bequeathed to posterity are no insubstantial pageant that fades leaving not a rack behind. The faith that urged the master-builders to constructive endeavour, the fire that burnt within their soul, are of the people of this land by heritage and may yet add an illumined page to its chequered annals.

But here I recall to my mind the admonition of a high authority, presiding over an all-India gathering of scholars. "The chief duty of a president is to keep silent and to listen." This maxim claims a hoary antiquity as it seems to have been followed in the main by the *kulapatis* in the gemotes of the heroic age that met to hearken to "stirring tales of war and moil," to

itivṛttaṁ narendrāṇāṁ
ṛṣīṇāñca mahātmanām.

The procedure preferred by the *sabhāpatis* of later generations named in the *Kāvya Mīmāṁsā* may not have been much different. What a welcome relief would it have been for me to tread in their footsteps. But gone are those halcyon days. We have to face the iron laws in an iron time. It has been the custom in these congresses and conferences for the president either to address to the assembled scholars a discourse upon some subject of importance or review in outline the activities of those who in the recent past continued the work of tracing the threads which have gone to the making of the multicoloured tapestry of Indian history.

The presentation of the briefest outline cannot fail to take note of the irretrievable loss we have sustained by the passing away of not a few of the great figures that towered like tritons in our midst. Tagore, poet, artist, essayist, philosopher, prophet of a new vision, was at the same time

a keen student of Indian History and a revealer in his own inimitable manner of the inner soul of this ancient people. Dr. Sir Ganganath Jha, scholar, educationist and administrator, has left works that are indispensable to the student of social and legal history. Sir George Grierson, linguist and philologist, made brilliant contributions to the study of the history of languages and the evolution of religion in India. Shams-ul-Ulema Muhammad Hidayet Hussain, teacher and investigator, whose benign smile is to me a memory to be treasured, dived deep into Arabic and Persian lore and threw a flood of light on many problems of our country's past.

The transformation of the All-India Modern History Congress into the Indian History Congress whose horizon was no longer bounded by the limits of the modern age, but embraced within its orb all epochs of Indian History, Ancient, Mediaeval as well as Modern, closed the eventful century that had been ushered in by the publication of Ṛgvedic Texts by Friedrich Rosen and the unravelling of the mysteries of the Brāhmī alphabet by James Prinsep. The years that have since passed by have, on the whole, seen substantial progress in the onward march of historical research in several directions. The work of resuscitating the past and of chronicling the kaleidoscopic changes that marked the annals of our country have gone apace. To the aid of the historian have come the spade of the archaeological explorer, the discerning eye of the trained numismatist and the patient scholarship of the student of Anthropology, Mythology, Comparative Religion and Philology.

Fruitful works of excavation and exploration have been undertaken not only by the central Department of Archaeology, but by several States including Hyderābād, and non-official bodies in the provinces of British India. The spade is busy in unravelling the secrets of Rāmnagar. Valuable antiquities have been discovered at Rājghāṭ, Kurkihār,

Baragaṅgā, Jājpur and other places. The University of Calcutta has undertaken the exploration of the historic site of Bāṇgarh. The Bāṇgarh excavation and the expansion of the Asutosh Museum which was recently started by the University under the guidance of Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, have been of immense help in giving students of history much-needed lessons in practical Archaeology. The recent collection of art objects in the Museum by Messrs D. P. Ghosh, K. G. Goswami and their co-workers includes notable specimens of sculpture and painting which point to interesting phases in the art tradition of eastern India. The discovery of new images, stone and bronze inscriptions, copper plates and coins through individual enterprise and the effort of universities and other learned bodies, has thrown welcome light on the history of several dynasties including the Sātavāhanas, the Kuṣāṇas, the Vākāṭakas, the Guptas, the Maukharis, the Pālas, the Candras and the early kings of Kāmarūpa who claimed Bhagadatta's lineage.

The keen interest felt in historical studies is well attested by the work of learned societies whose number has multiplied considerably in recent times. Their activities are sometimes persistent, at times remittent, and on occasions rather intermittent. Mention may be made here of the work that is being done not only by the time-honoured Royal Asiatic Society which, like the *nyagrodha,* threw off in the past healthy offshoots in many directions, but also by the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, the Research societies of Bihār and Orissa, Andhra and Karṇāṭaka, the historical societies of the United Provinces, the Punjab, Sind and Mahākosala, the Kāmarūpa Anusandhāna Samiti, the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, the Varendra Research Society, the Greater India Society, the Mahābodhi Society, the Indian Society of Oriental Art, the Indian Research

Institute, the Rāmakṛṣṇa Mission Institute of Culture, the Veṅkateśvara Oriental Institute, the Numismatic Society, the Bhāratīya Itihāsa Pariṣad and similar bodies.

The literary output of the recent past has not been inconsiderable. Each epoch or aspect of our period claims the attention of a number of scholars and enquirers who have made it the object of their special study. It is a matter for sincere congratulation that some of the contributions come from the pen of ladies. The promising career of one of them, Dr. Minakshi, has been cut short by the cruel hand of death. But others are still amongst us and doing work that merits attention. Two of them, Miss Padma Misra and Miss K. Virji have submitted papers for this section. Another distinguished lady, Miss Karuna Kana Gupta, recently explored the history of the Nāgas while Miss D. N. Bhagvat, Mrs. Jyotirmayee Bose and Dr. P. C. Dharma dealt with Buddhist Monachism, Śaivism and Rāmāyaṇic Studies respectively.

The period coming within the purview of our section extends from the earliest times to 711 A.D. It is not necessary here to discuss the principle followed in suggesting the lower limit. Delimitation of periods is to the historian what parallels of latitude or meridians of longitude are to the geographer—imaginary lines invented for the sake of convenience. One historical period often imperceptibly fades into another. In a country of the size and dimensions of India landmarks that hold good for the entire sub-continent are not easy to find. Nevertheless, the eighth century A.D. did introduce new warps and woofs in its political and cultural texture, specially in the north-west. The preceding ages had seen the birth, efflorescence and transformation of many types of civilisation. History can hardly take any note of the earliest of these, when man first set the stage in India. The story in the present state of our knowledge must open with the dawn of Chalcolithic

culture in the valley of the Indus. Further excavations at the pre-historic sites in this region brought to fuller view the links that bound the ancient civilisation of our country with the contemporaneous culture of Anau and Elam, Sumer and Anatolia, Egypt and Crete. The researches and investigations of Hrozny, Herzfeld, Arthur Keith, Mackay, Frankfort, Corbiau, Hackin, Carleton and a host of other scholars have emphasised the value, for the elucidation of our own pre-historic antiquities, of the study of the ancient civilisations of Iran, Iraq and the eastern Mediterranean lands. We have acquired a new interest in the golden helmet of Meskalamdug, the Stele of the Vultures of Eannatum, the relics of pre-dynastic Egypt, the seals of the middle kingdom, the vaulting feats pictured in Cretan art, the legends of Gilgamesh and Enkidu, the eagle and the club of Ningirsu, the hymns of Nergal, the representations of the Hittite Teshub and those of the mother goddess at Ephesus and Susa, references to Dakash, Shuriash, Maruttash and Shimalia in Kassite documents and lastly to "the ships of Meluhha, the ships of Magan and the ships of Dilmun" which anchored at the quay in the front of Agade in the days of Sargon.

Indus culture claims the close attention of the Archaeological Department. It has attracted investigators like the Rev. Father Heras and many other workers. It may be of interest to our own antiquarians who attempt to determine early chronology, or reconstruct ancient history, on the basis of very late bardic or priestly tradition, and persist in clinging to dynastic designations not supported by contemporary evidence, to know how Assyriologists and Egyptologists treat the king-lists and chronicles of Nur-Ninsubur, Berossos and Manetho, and how attempts at a solution of the riddle of Egyptian writing fared before the discovery of the Rosetta Stone. Diligence and enthusiasm deserve praise and encouragement, but are not likely

to produce the best results unless chastened by critical caution and discerning judgment.

Valuable work in the domain of Iranian studies useful for the student of Indian antiquities has been done by the excavators of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and by the colleagues of Arthur Upham Pope, the learned editor of *A Survey of Persian Art*. It gives me pleasure to refer in this connection to the recent work of Dr. Sukumar Sen which deals with old Persian inscriptions. Important Achæmenian records also find a place in a corpus of inscriptions that is being prepared by Dr. Sircar. An interesting discovery in recent years is that of several stone tablets east of the great palace terrace at Persepolis where Xerxes records his victories in lands in which the *daivas* were worshipped.

Vedic studies have found in recent months workers in Mr. V. M. Apte, Mr. B. S. Upādhyāya, Mr. Pusalkar and others. The Great Epic is being dealt with by Dr. Sukthankar and his colleagues and has recently claimed the attention of Professor H. C. Seth who is already well known for his somewhat daring dissertations on the Maurya period. The light thrown by epigraphy, the early Pali canon and Trans-Gangetic sources on the date and development of the heroic as well the didactic epic needs further exploration.

The early records of the Jains and the Buddhists have been made to yield interesting information by Drs. B. C. Law, Malalasekera, Barua, Prof. K. P. Mitra, Mr. K. P. Jain, and Mr. Ratilal Mehta, and have been utilised by Professor N. N. Ghosh for his monograph on Kauśāmbī.

There are several problems connected with the Nanda and Maurya dynasties that await further investigation. The date of Mahāpadma, the commencement of Candragupta's reign, the age and authenticity of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, the identity of Satiyaputra and of Alikasudara,

Aśoka's relations with Suvarnabhūmi, the social organisation of his days, the detailed story of the later Mauryas—to name only a few of them—continue to tantalise the enquirer.

Not much has been done in recent times by Indian scholars, with very few exceptions, by way of exploring the Greek evidence for further elucidation of the history of the pre-Christian centuries for which reliable literary evidence is scanty. Some of the volumes published by the Loeb Classical Library deserve incisive study. In a work of Xenophon, who died about the middle of the fourth century B.C., we have notice of an Indian king who is described as a very wealthy man—a reference that may be compared to the Indian account of the Nandas, the reputed possessors of enormous wealth. The personality of Bindusāra and his solicitude for Greek sophists as well as *Ājīva parivrājakas* deserve attention to appreciate the environment amidst which his more famous successor grew up.

The period of the Bactrian Greeks that followed the disintegration of the Maurya empire is the theme of a very learned and elaborate treatise by W. W. Tarn whose work has invited interesting comments from A. B. Keith, Johnston and Saurindra Nath Ray. The history and chronology of the Scytho-Parthian and Sātavāhana rulers remain much vexed questions. The ghost of Kaniṣka has not been laid, or the riddle of the eras of 58 B.C. and 78 A.D. solved, to the satisfaction of all. But the note of Dr. Lüders on the era of the *Mahārāja* and *Mahārājarājātirāja* and the astronomical calculations of Mr. Probodh Chandra Sengupta deserve attention. The problems of the eras used by the Traikūṭakas, the early Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga and a Kadamba prince at Halsi, also present difficulties, though not all of the same character. Much new information regarding the Kuṣāṇas and the Sātavāhanas has been vouchsafed to us in recent times. The researches of

Mr. M. N. Nagar and Professor V. V. Mirashi may be mentioned in this connection.

Several obscure spaces in the spectrum of Gupta history and the annals of the Vākāṭakas and the Maukharis remain to be illumined. The researches of Dr. Altekar, Professor Mirashi, Dr. D. C. Ganguly, Dr. Sircar and Messrs. Jagannath, Y. K. Deshpande, Akhil Bandhu Biswas and A. Ghosh merit close study. In regard to the problem of the earliest Guptas of the fourth century A.D. tradition embodied in dramas and works on poetics of a late date, or even in epigraphs composed some five centuries after the incidents, can hardly be given equal weight with contemporary inscriptions and coins. The problem of Bālāditya is scarcely to be solved by ignoring the Sārnāth record of Prakaṭāditya as is done in a recent publication. The relation of the line of Mahārāja Śrī Gupta with Vainyagupta and Kṛṣṇagupta also demands study. The role of the early Guptas and the dynasties with which they are known to have come into contact, in popularising Sanskrit and the cult of "the victorious Bhagavat" in the south, deserves as much study as their endeavour to revive sacrificial rites in the north. Sufficient attention has not, I believe, also been paid to the notice in the Allahabad *praśasti* of the relation of the imperial government in the Ganges valley with the "dwellers in island" in tracing the history of Indian colonial and cultural expansion in the Gupta age. The reference in a Malayan epigraph to a *Mahānāvika* from Raktamṛttikā may be recalled in this connection.

As to the Vākāṭakas, the need of re-examining some of their known records, and of bringing out the full significance of the term *rājya* used in reference to territorial divisions of their realm, in the light of the Vatsagulma grant, is apparent.

The identity of the Maukhari capital remains, I believe,

still a mystery. Evidence adduced on the point is neither unanimous nor conclusive. Among other important problems may be mentioned the origin and order of succession of the early Pallavas, the earliest chronology of the Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ and the relations of the Gurjaras of the Mahārāja *Karṇānvaya* with those of the *Pratihārānvaya*.

The history of Harṣa, which was elucidated by Drs. Radha Kumud Mookerjee, R. C. Majumdar, Niharranjan Ray, and R. S. Tripathi, has in recent times attracted a good deal of attention and an interesting dissertation has been contributed by Mr. Nalini Nath Das Gupta.

The period from the death of Harṣa to the advent of the vanguard of the army of Hajjāj early in the eighth century A.D. offers another promising field for research.

A notable feature of historical investigation in recent years is the attention paid to provincial history. The Kāmarūpa Anusandhāna Samiti has taken in hand the reconstruction of the past history of Assam. Welcome light is thrown on the early annals of this eastern province by the Baragaṅgā epigraph of Bhūtivarman brought to notice by Dr. Bhattasali of the Dacca Museum. The University of the last-mentioned city is making good progress with a comprehensive history of Bengal with the co-operation of several teachers of the Calcutta University besides other scholars. Shorter dissertations on the province proceed from the pens of Drs. B. C. Sen, Niharranjan Ray, Mr. Adris Banerjee and Mr. P. Paul. The study of the history of eastern India has been facilitated by the new edition of the *Rāmacaritam* with commentaries and an English translation by Drs. Majumdar, Basak and Pandit N. Banerji.

Gujarat claims the attention of Professor H. D. Sankalia and Messrs. D. B. Diskalkar and P. C. Divanji, and Rajput history that of Pandit G. H. Ojha, Dr. H. C. Ray, Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu, Mr. Subimal Datta and others. The Central Provinces form the subject of a detailed study by

Professor Mirashi. Orissa has assiduous workers in Messrs. K. C. Panigrahi, P. Acharya, B. Misra, and Kumar B. S. Deo. Parts of the Kanarese Country and South Koṅkaṇ continue to claim the attention of Dr. Saletore and Mr. Moraes, and Travancore that of Messrs. Poduval, C. Achyuta Menon and their co-workers. The great Andhra country has investigators like Messrs. Krishna Rao, Rama Rao, Subba Rao and Dr. Venkataramanayya. The history of Tamil land is being explored by Dr. Aiyangar, Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari, Professor Nilakantha Śastri, Mr. Dikshitar, Mr. Aravamuthan and their colleagues and co-workers.

In the dim mists of antiquity some scholars discern a movement to India of peoples from Malayan and Polynesian lands. The waves, if they really came from those regions, rolled back, possibly breaking into ripples, in historic times, and some of the most thrilling chapters of our early history are filled by the story of Hindu colonial and cultural expansion in the countries and isles of gold (*Suvarṇabhūmi* and *Suvarṇadvīpa*) beyond the Ganges. These lands are gradually yielding relics which, though not so old as those of Elam and Sumer, have already proved to be of absorbing interest. The history of the little bits of ancient Indian soil set in the silver sea of the Far East, and the neighbouring lands whose shores it laves, is being elucidated with great industry and devotion by Dr. Majumdar, Professor Nilakantha Sastri, Professor Bijan Raj Chatterji, Drs. U. N. Ghoshal and Niharranjan Ray, Mr. Himangsu Sarkar and others.

Geography, which competent critics regard as an indispensable foundation for historical studies, is receiving attention from Drs. Law, S. C. Sarkar and Mr. Sudhakar Chatterji. A geography of India which takes full note of epigraphic evidence is a desideratum. The study of Numismatics, a valuable source of history, and the only

source for the history of certain periods, is being pursued amongst others by Mr. J. N. Banerji, Professor Mirashi, Dr. Altekar, Dr. S. K. Chakravarti, Messrs. Rabischandra Kar and D. D. Kosambi.

There are other branches of history, besides the story of political vicissitudes, which, though hardly capable of vying with the latter in satisfying the crave of the human mind for whatever is exciting and romantic, have nevertheless greater attraction for those who are interested in the evolution of ideas and institutions in the fields of politics, education, sociology, economics, religion and art. The study of Indian polity had absorbed the energy of some of our most distinguished scholars since the publication of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*. It will doubtless receive a fresh impetus from the publication of the recent works of Professor K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Drs. N. C. Banerji and N. C. Ganguly. Education in ancient India is claiming the attention of Dr. R. K. Mookerjee. Social history is being explored by Drs. R. C. Hazra, J. B. Chowdhury and Mr. Sudhirranjan Das. Economic history has a devoted worker in Mr. Atindra Nath Bose, while religious history is being dealt with by Drs. Barua, Bagchi, N. Dutt, and Mr. Provat Mookerjee. Iconography, a subject closely connected with religious studies, is claiming increased attention in recent years and has attracted the patient industry and penetrating insight of Mr. J. N. Banerji, whose important work on Hindu Iconography will soon be in the hands of scholars. Among other workers in the field mention may be made of Mr. Sarasi Kumar Saraswati and Mr. B. C. Bhattacharyya. Painting, architecture and some of the minor arts have attracted the attention of Mr. G. Yazdani, Mr. O. C. Gangoly and several scholars of the younger generation including Messrs D. P. Ghosh, Saraswati, C. C. Dasgupta and K. K. Ganguli.

The success attained by individual effort is, in not a few cases, encouraging. But this does not obviate the need for discussion and co-operation in conferences like the present one. "Historical thinking", says Acton, "is better than historical learning." It is difficult to conceive of a better method of stimulating thought than personal contact and exchange of ideas amongst scholars, students and enquirers interested in a subject.

But here a question may be asked as to whether historical discussions have any value for the community in the midst of which we live, move and have our being, whether they add anything to material power and the well-being of man. It must be confessed that it is not the function of history to supply food and clothing to the poor or medicine to the sick. A student of history does not practise the commonly understood art of healing, far less that of killing. The grand purpose of history is, as pointed out by Trevelyan, to emancipate man from the doom pronounced upon him at his birth, of life-long imprisonment in a single century and in a single set of material and intellectual circumstances. In the words of Acton and Southey, it enables us to rise above the pressure of time, race and environment and live in the company of the 'mighty minds of old' that no single country or age could produce. The past holds in its bosom a great store-house of knowledge and experience, a mass of material for the delectation of the right-minded, indispensable to the man who, with Burke, wants to avoid a dull uniformity in mischief and the unpitied calamity of being repeatedly caught in the same snare. Historical studies are a powerful solvent of superstition and a useful corrective of misconceptions and exaggerations. To ignore these studies is to live in a twilight of fiction, on a sand-bank of apathy, with the roaring currents of time eddying around, oblivious of the gems deposited by the stream of history, heedless of the

fact that the science of politics, of sociology, the historical romance and the drama are like grains of gold on the beach of the river of history.

Some regard history mainly as a form of literature to charm their leisure, or a prop to buttress time-worn ideas, or a thread on which to string some pre-conceived moral. To be useful history must never sever its relation to hard fact. The living truth about man, both the great and the common folk, must not be discoloured by individual fancy or disfigured by the heat of partisanship. The historian must not project his own broad shadow upon his pages too often so as to blur the picture he has taken so much pain to paint. "That man of merit alone deserves praise," says Kalhaṇa, the eminent historian of ancient India, "whose language, like that of a judge, in recounting the events of the past, has discarded bias as well as prejudice" :

ślāghyaḥ sa eva guṇavān rāgadveṣabahiṣkṛtā
bhūtārthakathane yasya stheyasyeva sarasvatī.

History must be scientific in its method of collecting and collating evidence. But it need not be dull. A harmonious union of scientific precision, literary elegance and artistic skill should be the aim. It has, however, to be admitted that ideal perfection is hard to attain. But the attempt is worth making. If we cannot vie with the man of science in enlarging the command of our species over nature, or with the literary artist in giving solace to the wearied mind or the worried soul, we can at least free it to a certain extent from the trammels of its surroundings and try to make man "the heir of all the ages". He may if he chooses

From their lessons seek and find
Instruction with an humble mind.

He may learn how a great people first becomes conscious of its individuality and develops a soul. How history

ceases to be a tale of isolated adventures, or a narration of the deeds of individuals or small groups engaged in a struggle for bare existence—how it becomes a progressive manifestation of the mind of a nation, the process by which its soul unfolds itself in political and administrative achievement, moral and social regeneration, religious and literary endeavour, scientific and artistic efflorescence. Each great people of antiquity had its own characteristic marks of development. We may recall in this connection the moral fervour of the Hebrew psalmists, the sense of beauty and rhythm that marked Periclean Greece, the love of law and government that characterised ancient Rome, and the perception of unity in diversity that dawned in the India of yore.

The quest for unity with its concomitants of *mettā, avihisā, anukampā*, in a land noted for the extraordinary multiformity of its physical aspect, bewildering variety of its ethnological and linguistic make-up, and wide divergences of its social and religious organisation, gives in my opinion the key to its history. There might have been cross-currents and under-currents but this seems to have been the, or at least one of the, main currents. The poet-theologians of the *Ṛgveda* did not fail to take note of the multiplicity of rivers in the land of *Saptasindhu* all losing themselves in one vast sheet of water. The majestic heights with gold-hued crests, diademed with the starry sky of the north, were synthesised into a single being, Himālaya, compared to Viṣṇu himself in later poetry :—

sthāne tvāṁ sthāvarātmānaṁ
Viṣṇuṁ āhur manīṣiṇaḥ.

All the sacred shrines merge in one holy stream :—

tathā devanadī ce'yaṁ
sarvatīrthābhisaṁbhṛtā

gaganād gāṁ gatā devī
Gaṅgā sarvasaridvarā.

Transcending the superb mountain, the divine stream, the wonderful panorama of Indian topography, and the surging masses of Indian humanity, was conjured up the vision of a united country to whom the river was but a jewelled necklace (*Gaṅgāmauktikahāriṇī*), the mountains but ear-ornaments (*Himavad-Vindhya-kuṇḍalā*) and the inhabitants so many children (*santatiḥ*).

uttaraṁ yat samudrasya
Himavaddakṣiṇañca yat
varṣaṁ tad Bhārataṁ nāma
Bhāratī yatra santatiḥ.

It is not merely the geographical unity of the country that came to be realised in the days of yore. The land of *varṇas* and *jātis*, of castes and sub-castes, evolved the concept of the giant *Puruṣa* in whom all the social orders had their being, and the bold declaration is made in the Book of Peace of the Great Epic :

na viśeṣo'sti varṇānāṁ
sarvaṁ Brāhmam idaṁ jagat.

The idea of oneness had its influence also in the sphere of politics. The concept of *Puruṣa* and *Mahāpuruṣa* in the domain of sociology, philosophy and religion, had its counterpart in the idea of the *ekarāṭ* or *cakravartin*, a universal emperor, the lord of Jambudvīpa.

A warrior duly crowned, the chief of men ;
This earth he conquered and then justly ruled,
Needing no rod or sword or violence,
But ordering all impartially, he caused
The clans to grow in fortune, riches, wealth
Theirs were all pleasures, his the seven gems.

The idea of such a universal ruler :—*rājā viśvajanīna* as he is called in the Vedas—was apparently before the mind of the Atharvanic poet who wrote the famous laud about Parikṣit. The idea came very near realisation when Aśoka welded together the Magadhas, Yonas, Aparāntas, Andhras and other races inhabiting this land into one political unit. Such a *cakravartin* many of his successors—Khāravela, the imperial Guptas, Harṣa, to name only a few—aspired to be. The *cakravartin* became what he was by *parākrama* tempered by a tender regard for the well-being of all creatures that was enjoined by *dharma*—*porānā pakitī*, the ancient law of India, as it is termed by Aśoka. It is to *parākrama* that the great Maurya attributed his success in making his influence felt throughout Jambudvīpa (*pakamasi hi esa phale*). The famous Allahabad Praśasti speaks of *parākrama* as the only ally and mark of Samudra Gupta (*parākramaikabandhu*, *parākramāṅka*).

These great rulers of men did use their might to subject "the mutually repellent molecules of the body politic to the grasp of a superior controlling force"—the one in Kaliṅga, the other in Āryāvarta. But they never for a moment forgot that force divorced from *dharma*, *anukampā lokānugraha*, the Law of Piety, compassion and kindness to mankind, was barren of fruits. The soul of India had responded to the call of suffering in ages past. Did not the heart of one of the poet-sages of old melt with grief at the sight of a bird being done to death by the cruel missile of a fowler? Did not another national poet loudly proclaim :

abhayaṁ sarvabhūtebhyo
yo dadāti mahīpate
sa gacchati paraṁ sthānaṁ
Viṣṇoḥ padam anāmayam.

"He who grants assurance of safety to all beings goes to the highest station, the holy step of the Supreme Spirit, the home of bliss"?

We need not dilate on the kindred teachings of the Jinas and the Buddha. These lessons were not lost upon the universal rulers. The agony of the *krauñca* in the woods had brought into being the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The agony of the men of Kaliṅga was responsible for an *avadāna* not less instructive and inspiring than the story of Rāmacandra's deeds.

Many of the successors of Dharmāśoka did not fully share his religious convictions. Nevertheless, they too held up before their minds the ideal of Piyadasi in its essentials. A queen-mother of the second century A.D. takes pride in the fact that her royal son who had warded off the incursions of barbaric intruders, whose chargers had drunk the waters of the three oceans, was at the same time "alien to hurting life even towards an offending enemy", *kitāparādhe pi satujane apānahisā ruci.* Two centuries later a warrior-poet speaks of his master whose fame had, it is said, reached the four seas, as "full of compassion, possessed of a tender heart, (*mṛduhṛdaya, anukampāvat*) the personification of kindness to mankind" (*lokānugraha*). The tiger-claws of *Vyāghraparākrama* were it seems exchanged for the velvet glove. For was he not *Dharma prācīrabandha*? Three centuries roll on and we meet another great ruler, who seeks to unite the five Indies and proclaims his faith in the following words.*

karmaṇā manasā vācā
kartavyaṁ prāṇibhir hitaṁ
Harṣeṇaitat samākhyātaṁ
dharmārajjanamanuttamam.

* Vide Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV, p. 211.

These words give the clue to the influences that moulded the destiny of India during many a memorable epoch of our history—a quest for unity in a land of diverse colour and culture and attempts at its realisation in the domain of politics by a blend of strength, exertion, love, compassion and adherence to *Dharma*. These are some of the lessons which the ages bring to us as they come peeping in through the window of history. They teach us that the land of our birth has a noble mission. It is rich with its treasures of varied experience, and we should try to be worthy of so precious an inheritance.

CHAPTER XVII

PROTOTYPES(?) OF ŚIVA IN WESTERN ASIA

Śiva shares with Viṣṇu the homage of the vast majority of the Hindu population. The worship of the deity is, as is well known, traceable back to the early Vedic age. Archaeological evidence has been adduced by scholars, notably by Sir John Marshall, to prove that the cult of a divinity closely approximating to Śiva was already popular in the Indus valley in the third millennium B.C. Attention has been invited particularly to a Mohenjo-daro seal on which is portrayed a male god who is seemingly three-faced but may have had four faces. He is seated in the typical attitude of *Yoga* and has his lower limbs exposed, suggesting comparison with the *Ūrdhva-Meḍhra* form of Śiva. The deity has on either side a number of animals: a tiger and an elephant on his right and a buffalo and a rhinoceros on his left. Beneath the seat of the god are a couple of deer.[1]

There can be no doubt that the deity on the Mohenjo-daro seal has important points of resemblance with Śiva as depicted in Chapter 284 of the *Śānti Parva* and Chapters 14 and 17 of the *Anuśāsana Parva* of the *Mahābhārata*.[2] The epic describes the god both as *triśīrsha* (XII, 284, 12) or *trivaktra* (XIII, 14, 165) and as *chaturmukha* (XII, 284, 83; XIII, 17, 77). He is *Digvāsas* (*ibid.*, 14, 162) and *Ūrdhva Linga* (17, 46). He is further styled *Yogeśvara* (14, 328) and *Yogādhyaksha* (17, 77). Above all, he is *Paśupati* (17, 79). Among animals brought into special relation with him are the tiger (cf. *Śārdūlarūpa*, 17, 48),

[1] *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, edited by Sir John Marshall, Vol. I, Ch. 5.

[2] Vaṅgavāsī edition.

the elephant (cf. *Vyālarūpa* 17, 61) and the deer (cf. *Mṛigabāṇārpaṇa*, 17, 38). He is clad in a tiger's skin (*Vyāghrājina*, 14, 387), and has an elephant's skin as his upper garment (*Nāgacharmottarachchhada*, 14, 155). He is not only the elephant-killer (*Gajahā*, 17, 48) but also a buffalo-destroyer (*Mahiṣaghna*, 14, 313). Among his epithets is *Gaṇḍalin* (17, 91) which suggests a connection with *Gaṇḍa* (the rhinoceros?). *Gaṇḍīnī* is an appellation of his consort Durgā.

Striking as are the points of likeness between Śiva and the Mohenjo-daro deity it is to be noted that one of the most distinctive epithets of the epic Śiva, *viz. Vṛiṣabha-vāha* (*Anuśāsana*, 14, 299) or *Vṛiṣa-vāhana* (14, 390), is not suggested by anything portrayed on the Mohenjo-daro seal mentioned above. In this and some other important respects the epic Śiva finds a closer parallel in a god worshipped by the ancient Hittites in Western Asia in the second millennium B.C. This deity is Teshub, the chief male member of the Hittite pantheon.[1] We have representations of the god at Malatia, in the sacred gallery at Boghaz Keui, in the Zinjerli Sculpture, in the monument at Isbekjür, on a stele at Babylon and also on coins at Hierapolis Syraiae. He stands on a bull and has the three-pronged thunderbolt as his distinctive weapon. He is also represented as bearing a bow, the trident and mace, battle-axe and dagger. His spouse is the great mother-goddess venerated as Mā in Cappadocia. She was worshipped under different names and forms in Anatolia and neighbouring lands.

The resemblance between Teshub as represented at the places named above, and Rudra-Śiva as described in Vedic,

[1] *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, edited by James Hastings, Vol. VI, pp. 724 ff; *Universal History*, Vol. 2, pp. 723, 727, 737.

epic and Purāṇic texts, is too striking to be ignored. Like Teshub Rudra-Śiva wields the thunderbolt (*Ṛigveda*, 2, 33, 3; *Mahābhārata*, XIII, 14, 288, 387, etc.), and is armed with a bow (cf. *dhanvī*, 17, 43; *Pinākin*, 14, 387), the trident (*Triśūla*, XII, 284, 12; *Śūla*, XIII, 14, 289 and 387), mace (*Daṇḍa*, *ibid.*, 387), battle-axe (cf. *Paraśvadh-āyudha*, 17, 99), and *paṭṭiśa* (17, 43) which Nīlakaṇṭha explains as a kind of *Khaḍga* or sword.

Like Teshub again Śiva is *Ambikā-bhartā* (*Mbh.*, III, 78, 57), spouse of the mother-goddess, who is referred to as Pārvatī (XIII, 14, 250), Devī (384) and Umā (427), the counterpart of the Cappadocian Mā. The consort of Teshub stands on a lioness or panther.[1] Similarly, the consort of Śiva is in the *Purāṇas siṃhavāhinī* (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 82, 33). Certain forms of the great mother-goddess of the ancient peoples of Western Asia, such as Nanaia and Artemis, had the bee for their symbol.[2] Representations of these deities with the bee were to be found at Ephesus and Susa. Curiously enough, the Indian mother-goddess receives in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (91, 49) and the *Devī-Bhāgavata* (Bk. 10, 13) the epithet *Bhrāmarī*. In this form the goddess had killed an *Asura* named *Aruṇa* for the good of the world (*Mārk.* 92, 48). Does the story imply hostility to rival cults of Assyria or Irān?

While certain aspects of Rudra-Śiva and his consort, mainly detailed in the epic and the *Purāṇas*, recall the Hittite Teshub, other features, which may claim a prior date, remind one of Nergal, the Sumerian deity, to whom the following hymn is addressed :[3]

[1] *ERE*, Hastings, Vol. VI, p. 725; *Universal History*, 2_1 719, 723, 737.

[2] Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 6, 29. For the association of Artemis with lions, see also *ERE*, XII, 139-140.

[3] Carleton, *Buried Empires*, 204.

O Lord, enter not into the tavern,
nor slay the old woman sitting at the ale-bench.
O Lord, enter not into the council-chamber,
nor smite the wise elder who is sitting there.
O Lord, stand not in the playground,
nor drive the little ones away from the playground.
Enter not into the place where the music of the harp resounds,
nor drive away the youth who understands the music of the harp.

The prayer quoted above cannot fail to recall the *Śatarudrīya* Litany of the *Yajurveda* :

Do thou no injury to great or small of us, harm not the growing boy, harm not the full-grown man.
Slay not a sire among us, slay no mother here, and to our own dear bodies, Rudra ! do no harm.

Harm us not in our seed or in our progeny, harm us not in our life or in our cows or steeds.
Slay not our heroes in the fury of their wrath. We with oblations ever call on only thee.[1]

The writer of these lines is conscious of the fact that the grand concept of Śiva in the Hindu sacred texts cannot be explained simply by a reference to a number of

[1] *The Texts of the White Yajurveda* translated by Ralph T. H. Griffith, p. 141. Beltis-Allat or Erishkigal, spouse of Nergal, is associated with lions like Artemis and the consort of Śiva. *Cf.* Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization*, p. 692. Nergal himself was represented by a lion, *ERE*, XII, 149. It may be remembered in this connection that in the *Anuśāsanaparva* of the *Mahābhārata* Śiva is *Siṁha-śārdūla-rūpa*. (17, 48).

Sumerian, Hittite and Mohenjo-daro deities. His aim is to invite the attention of scholars to certain common features in the religious beliefs of the ancient peoples of Anatolia, Mesopotamia and India which may serve to elucidate certain points in the history of those mythological beliefs that came to be associated with the worship of Śiva and the great Devī in the Vedic, epic and *Purāṇic* ages.

CHAPTER XVIII

KOKĀMUKHASVAMIN

An obscure deity called *Kokāmukhasvāmin* is mentioned in a Dāmodarpur inscription of Budha Gupta.[1] Dr. R. G. Basak, who originally edited the record, referred in this connection to Kokāmukhā, a form of the goddess Durgā, and to the Kokāmukha*tīrtha*, both mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. He did not, however, suggest any satisfactory identification of the god Kokāmukhasvāmin. My friend and pupil Dr. D. C. Sircar recently came to the conclusion that Kokāmukha is a form of Śiva.[2] This theory is based on the supposed connection of the name "Ādya Kokāmukhasvāmin", as given in the Dāmodarpur inscription, with the appellations *Ādyā* and *Kokāmukhā* used in reference to Durgā, the consort of Śiva, and on the term *nāma-liṅga* which, according to Dr. Sircar, occurs in the epigraph in the sense of 'a *Liṅga* established after someone's name,' and points to the god Kokāmukhasvāmin. The land donated in favour of the deity according to the Dāmodarpur grant was situated on the Himavacchikhara. Dr. Sircar rightly points out that the expression *Himavacchikhara* literally means 'a peak or summit of the Himālayas'; but he adds: "Here however it appears to refer to a territorial unit (called a forest in [Inscription] No. 39). The situation of the land granted to the gods suggests that it was not far from Dāmodarpur. There is as yet no proof

[1] Basak, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 138 ff; Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 328. ff.

[2] *Op. cit.* 329n; *cf. Ind. Cult.*, April, 1939 (Vol. V), p. 432f.

[3] *Cf. Himavacchikhare Kokāmukhasvāminaḥ catvāraḥ kulyavāpāḥ*, etc.

that the Koṭivarṣa district included the hilly region bordering on the northern fringe of Bengal."[1]

Fresh light on the identification not only of Kokāmukhasvāmin but also of 'Himavacchikhara,' where apparently the god's temple was situated, is thrown by chapters 219 and 229 of the *Brahma Purāṇa*.[2] The evidence furnished by the above sections of the *Purāṇa* prove beyond doubt that like Śvetavarāhasvāmin, with whom he is associated in the record,[3] Kokāmukha is a form of the Varāha (Boar) incarnation of Viṣṇu and that the Kokāmukha*tīrtha* was in the Himālayan region on the northern fringe of Bengal.

In chapter 219 of the *Brahma Purāṇa* we have a legend about the origin of the place of pilgrimage styled Kokāmukha*tīrtha*. It is unnecessary here to enter into the details of the story. In short, it relates how Viṣṇu in his Boar form rescued the divine *pitṛs* who had been engulfed in the waters of the Kokā, a stream that dashed through the Himālayan rocks (*śiśirādri*). Cf.

Verse 3 :—

Purā Kokājale magnān pitṛrnuddhṛtavān bibhuḥ.

Verse 17 :—

Koketi prathitā loke ŚIŚIRĀDRI*samāśritā*

Verse 36 :—

KOKĀMUKHE *pitṛgaṇaṁ salile nimagnaṁ*
Devo dadarśa śirasātha śilāṁ vahantam

[1] Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 329, fn. 2.

[2] Vaṅgavāsī edition, pp. 860 ff, 928 ff.

[3] My attention has been drawn, since the above as printed, to *JPAS*, XXVI (1930) Art. 10 by J. C. Ghosh ("Was Kalidāsa, a Bengali?"). I do not agree with the main contention of Mr. Ghosh. See also *Skanda Purāṇam*, Viṣṇukhaṇḍa, *Veṅkaṭācala-māhātmyam*, ch. 36, where we find mention of *Śvetavarāha* the associate of Kokāmukha of the plates.

Verse 39 :—

VARĀHA*daṁṣṭrāsaṁlagnāḥ pitaraḥ kanakojjvalāḥ*
Kokāmukhe gatabhayāḥ kṛtā devena Viṣṇunā

Verse 114 :—

Kokāpi tīrthasahitā saṁsthitā GIRIRĀJANI

It is added that the sanctity of the Kokāmukha*tīrtha* was due to the presence of the Varāha form of Viṣṇu. Cf. Verse 106 :—

Kokā nadīti vikhyātā girirājasamāśritā
tīrthakoṭimahāpuṇyā MADRŪPA*paripālitā*

Verse 107 :—

asyāmadya prabhṛti vai nivatsyāmyaghanāśakṛt
VARĀHA*darśanaṁ puṇyaṁ pūjanaṁ bhuktimuktidam*

Verse 116 :—

evaṁ mayoktaṁ varadasya Viṣṇoḥ
KOKĀMUKHE *divya*-VARĀHARŪPAM

It may be noted in this connection that according to the same legend Narakāsura, who sprang from the union of Viṣṇu in his Boar form with the goddess Mahī or Chāyā, and was made lord of the city of Prāgjyotiṣa by his Divine Father, was born in the Kokāmukha*tīrtha* in the Himālayas.[1] The story apparently points to the proximity of the holy spot in question to Prāgjyotiṣa in Kāmarūpa (Lower Assam and North Bengal to the east of the Karatoyā). In the Gupta period, the sacred site is known to have fallen within the limits of the Koṭivarṣaviṣaya (district) of the Puṇḍravardhana*bhukti* (province) in North Bengal.

[1] *Cf.* Verses 114-115 :

Chāyā mahīmayi kroḍī piṇḍaprāśanavṛṁhitā
garbhamādāya saśraddhā Vārāhasyaiva sundarī
tato'syāḥ prābhavat putro Bhaumastu Narakāsuraḥ
Prāgjyotiṣañca nagaramasya dattañca Viṣṇunā.

Chapters 229 of the *Brahma Purāṇa* also dilates on the Kokāmukha*tīrtha*; but it hardly adds much to the stock of our knowledge. This section only corroborates the information gathered from chapter 219.

Compare :

ityevamuktvā pitaraṁ praṇamya
gatvā ca Kokāmukhamagratīrtham
Viṣṇuṁ samārādhya VARAHARUPAM
avāpa siddhiṁ manujarṣabho'sau

Ch. 229, Verse 86.

In passing it may be pointed out that the Dāmodarpur inscription noticed above is of great importance for the study of the religious history of anceint Bengal. In the first place, it points to the prevalence of the cult of the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu in Bengal during the Gupta age.[1]

[1] *Cf.* my remarks on the disappearance of the *independent* worship of the *vyūhas* except Vāsudeva, and the growing popularity of the *avatāras*, *Early History of the Vaishṇava Sect.*, 2nd ed. p. 176. The votaries of the cult of Viṣṇu and his *avatāras* were doubtless styled *Bhāgavata*—a sectarian designation that was known to Indian epigraphy from the time of the Besnagar inscription of Heliodoros to the age of the Guptas and their successors. Another designation, *Pāñcarātra*, is met with in the Epic, the Pañcarātra *Saṃhitās*, the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa, the *Brahma Purāṇa* and other works. A suggestion has been offered in recent times that Bhāgavatism was *completely* different from the Pañcarātra cult *in the Gupta period*, and that while the former was specially associated with the *avatāravāda*, the latter stood for the *vyūhavāda*. But the existence of the *Pāñcarātras* as a sect *distinct* from the *Bhāgavatas in the Gupta age* is extremely problematical. The epithet *Pāñcarātra* is not prefixed to the name of any personage of importance in Gupta inscriptions or coin legends in the same way as *Sātvata*, or *Bhāgavata*, thus casting doubt on its prevalence as a *rival* sectarian designation *in the Gupta age*. The *Harṣacarita* which does make separate mention of *Bhāgavatas* and *Pāñcarātras* is a post-Gupta work. The commentator on the words regards both the sects as

Secondly, it demonstrates the existence, even in that early period, of a belief in different varieties (Śvetavarāha, Kokāmukha) of the Varāha form of Viṣṇu. It is clear that as early as the fifth century A.D. not only were *avatāras* worshipped in Bengal, but the conception of different variations of the same *avatāra* had developed.[1]

Viṣṇuites; but he never suggests that the line of demarcation between the two follows the supposed cleavage between the upholders of the *avatāravāda* and the *vyūhavāda* respectively. In the *Pādma Tantra*, *Bhāgavata* and *Pañcarātrika* are referred to as synonymous terms, and the Pañcarātra *Saṃhitās* pay devotion to the *avatāras* as well as the *vyūhas*. Even in the *Caitanyacaritāmṛta*, there is no suggestion that the *avatāravāda* is the doctrine exclusively of the *Bhāgavatas* and the *vyūhavāda* of the *Pāñcarātras*. In the *Brahma Purāṇa* the *Mahābhāgavata* Akrura pays homage to the four *Vyūhas* (ch. 190-192). The *Pañcharātra-vidhāna* contemplates worship of the *Vyūhas* as well as the *avataras* including Mahāvarāha (Chs. 48-49).

[1] Gopinath Rao (*Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, pt. i, pp. 132 ff) notices three different conceptional types of the Varāha *avatāra*, namely, (*i*) Bhūvarāha, Ādivarāha or Nṛvarāha, (*ii*) Yajñavarāha and (*iii*) Pralayavarāha. The relation of second type with Śvetavarāha is apparent from *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Viṣṇukhaṇḍa* cited above. The Eraṇ inscription of Toramāṇa (Fleet *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 159) refers to the Boar form of Viṣṇu "who in the act of lifting up the earth (out of the waters) caused the mountains to tremble with the blows of (his) hard snout; (and) who is the pillar (for the support) of the great house which is the three worlds". *Cf.*

jayati dharaṇyuddharaṇe ghanaghoṇāghātaghūrṇṇitamahīdharaḥ
devo Varāhamūrttistrailokyamahāgṛhastambhaḥ

The reference here may be to No. (*i*) of Gopinath. The cult of the boar may have been, like that of the divine apes, snake gods and goddesses, etc, of folk (popular) origin, later engrafted on Vaiṣṇavism and other important creeds.

CHAPTER XIX

OBSERVATIONS ON THE DATE OF THE '*Silappadikaram*'

As early as 1908 an eminent south Indian scholar, Professor Sundaram Pillai, remarked that 'the scientific historian of India ought to begin his studies with the basin of the Kṛṣṇā, of the Cauvery, of the Vaigai, rather than with the Gangetic plain'. That there is some force in this observation it is impossible to deny. Whether one ought to begin with the Brahmaputra or the Kāverī, the Indus or the Tāmraparṇī, it cannot be gainsaid that a history of India must take due note of all the various strands that enter into the texture of its composite culture.

There has been a welcome change in this matter in recent times. But one difficulty felt by upper Indian scholars is their inability, a thorough lack of knowledge of Tamil, to explore the Tamil works which are the repositories of the culture of the land of the *Kural*, the *Nalayira Prabandham* and the *Tevaram*. This difficulty is, however, being lessened to some extent by the translation of a few of the south Indian classics. We shall refer to one of them, namely, the *Silappadikaram*, translated with an introduction and notes by Mr. V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar. The *Silappadikaram* is one of the most suggestive works of Tamil literature and Mr. Dikshitar has earned the gratitude of all by making its contents intelligible to a wider circle of students than has hitherto been the case.

'*The Lay of the Anklet*' furnishes valuable data for the proper study of ancient Indian geography, political history, administration, social and economic conditions, religious beliefs and mythology, ethnology and other branches of knowledge. But to be of help in exploring a *definite* epoch the facts that it yields must be capable of being dated at

least approximately. It is to the chronological question that we shall confine ourselves in this brief note.

There has been no unanimity among even south Indian scholars about the date of the work. One group of writers would assign to it a date in the second half of the second century A.D.[1] basing their conclusions largely on the 'Gajabāhu synchronism', the mention of the Nurruvar-Kannar identified by Kanakasabhai and those who follow him with the Śātakarṇīs, and the absence of reference to the Pallavas. Others again, including the renowned Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai,[2] prefer a much later age on such data as the mention of a weekday, and on astronomical and historical grounds in general. One scholar seems to doubt the reading கயவாகு (Gajabābu) and prefers the alternative *Kaval* (காவல்).[3]

It is not our purpose to 'get lost in minutiae', but to concentrate attention on some of the main points. Even admitting the reading *Kayavagu* to be correct, it is well to remember, as pointed out by the translator himself, that there are two Gajabāhus mentioned in the Ceylon chronicles. The first king who bore that name ruled in the second century A. D. and the second one a millennium later. There are details in the *Silappadikaram* which, to our mind, accord more with conditions in the later epoch than with those of the earlier age.

We may turn to an interesting passage in the *Lay* which runs :—'My eyes will never forget the sight of your advancing elephant in the midst of Tamil hosts which destroyed the joint forces of Konkanar, Kalingar, the cruel

[1] Dikshitar, *Silappadikaram*, 359; Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom*, 19.

[2] See Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, 20, 22.

[3] P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, *History of the Tamils*, 375 ff.

Karunatar, Bangalar, Gangar, Kattiyar famous for their innumerable spears, and the northern Aryas.'[1]

The region to which the term 'Konkanar' refers is well known to several inscriptions of the second century A. D. But the name used in those records is invariably 'Aparamta'.[2] The name Koṅkaṇ is not met with in epigraphs till a much later period. The mention of 'Bangalar' is even more significant. While Vaṅga occurs as early as the Sanskrit epics, the Dharmasūtras, the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Meharauli inscriptions, the form Vaṅgāla is decidedly late and is not met with in any epigraph before the eleventh century A.D., from which date it becomes familiar even to south India as we learn from the Tirumalai Inscription of Rājendra Chola I Gaṅgaikoṇḍa. The inclusion of Benares within the middle country certainly accords with the view of Rājaśekhara (*c.* 900 A. D.)[3] as pointed out by the translator, but not with the earlier Brahmanical definition in the legal code which fixes Prayāga as the eastern boundary. As to the Nurruvar-Kannar the first part of the expression seems to be only a qualifying adjective as 'Kannar' alone finds mention later on.[4] There is no epigraphic evidence to suggest that Śātakarṇi is the name of a whole race of kings or that rulers of the family had a 'fleet of boats' on the holy Ganges. The epithets *tisamuda-toyapita-vāhana*[5] and *trisamudrādhipati*[6] applied to its greatest kings as well as the designation *Dakhiṇapathapati*, limit their dominion to peninsular India. On the other hand, Karṇa is, in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*,

1 Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, 289.
2 *Luder's List*, Nos. 965, 1013, 1123.
3 Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, 217.
4 *Ib.*, 300.
5 *Epigraphia Indica*, 8. 60.
6 *Harshacharitam*, ed. by K. P. Parab (1918), 251.

certainly associated with the Ganges and there is epigraphic evidence that a section of the Gurjaras who figure in west Indian history from the sixth to the eighth century A.D. describe themselves as belonging to the *Karṇānvaya* (*mahati Karṇānvaye*).[1] Rulers of this group were admittedly feudatories and the main centre of Gurjara power lay farther to the north. In this connection it is permissible to refer to the evidence of the sister epic, the *Manimekhalai*, which makes mention of 'a temple of the most beautiful workmanship (in Puhar) built by the Gujaras'.[2] Among other builders figure 'mechanics from Maradam' (Mahārāṣṭra) a country whose present name cannot be traced back to a period earlier than the fourth century A. D. and is absolutely unknown to epigraphs of the second century.

The absence of reference to the Pallavas is an *argumentum ex silentio* and can be explained by the fact that the Pallavas had been replaced by the great Cholas when the *Lay of the Anklet* received its final shape. The frequent references to victorious expeditions to the Ganges and beyond recall the triumphs of Gaṅgaikoṇḍa and of the Pāṇḍyas of the Sinnamanur Plates eulogized in the words *mahīpatīnām Himāchalaropitaśāsanānām.* In the 'Great Kanchi'[3] we may have a punning allusion to the metropolis of the imperial Pallavas and their successors.

The *Silappadikaram* not only refers to a Friday[4] but to the 'twelve signs of the zodiac'.[5] It is well known that the names of the zodiacal divisions were taken from the

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, 13. 77.

[2] S. K. Aiyangar, *The Beginnings of South Indian History*, 137.

[3] Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, 288. The reference to the 'Kanchis' is paralleled by the allusion to 'our Vanji garland' as well as to 'the golden city of unflowering Vanji'. The play upon words, similar in sound but different in meaning, is unmistakable.

[4] Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, 268.

[5] *Ib.*, 293.

Greeks, and the Greek names are still retained in the *Bṛihajjātaka* of Varāhamihira. Scholars who differ in appraising the chronological value of such references have to explain why, if the weekdays were known from the second century A. D., they are not used for purpose of dating in epigraphic records till we come to the fifth century.

I should not, however, be taken to suggest that all the material contained in the work under review is late. Some of it may be old. In particular the 'lady jumping upon the black bull' cannot fail to recall the vaulting women pictured in the prehistoric art of the Indus valley and Crete.

To sum up, the *Silappadikaram* may have made use of old bardic material, but the work *as a whole* can hardly be dated as early as the second century A. D.

CHAPTER XX

Seṇiya Bimbisāra

Seṇiya Bimbisāra is justly entitled to a place in the front rank of the great rulers not only of Magadha, but of India. No monarch endowed with so much vigour and ability appeared on the throne of Girivraja since the days of the legendary Jarāsandha, and few will dispute his claim to be regarded as the founder of that imperial power which in the time of the Nandas probably spread as far as the Godāvarī[1] and under the Mauryas dominated almost the whole of Non-Tamil India from the Hindukush to the Venkaṭa Hills. Unfortunately the history of this king is still obscure and even the name of his dynasty is not known for certain. No Bāṇa or Sandhyākara has left a faithful account of the king's pedigree and no Hariṣeṇa or Ravi-kīrti has left a genuine record of his military exploits. A few facts regarding this monarch may, however, be gleaned from Buddhist literature, the credibility of which, in the present state of our knowledge, must remain an open question.

We have already stated that the very name of Bimbi-sāra's family is not known for certain. The old orthodox view based on Paurāṇic evidence is that Bimbisāra was a descendant of a king named Śiśunāga, and belonged to what is known as the Śaiśunāga dynasty. But this view has been combated by scholars like Geiger and Bhandarkar on the ground that the *Pāli chronicles* of Ceylon clearly dis-

[1] The extension of the Nanda Empire as far south as the Godā-varī appears probable from the evidence of the Hāthigumpha Inscrip-tion and the existence on the Godāvarī of a city called '*Nau Nand Dehra*' (Nander ; Macauliffe's *Sikh Religion*, V, p. 236).

tinguish the royal line of Bimbisāra from that of Śiśunāga, and represent the latter as a late successor, and not as an ancestor of the first named sovereign.

The inclusion of Bārāṇasī and Vaiśālī within Śiśunāga's dominions seems also to suggest that he came after Bimbisāra and his son Ajātaśatru who were the first to establish Magadhan authority in those regions, and thus tends to confirm the evidence of the chronicles. The Paurāṇic statement that Śiśunāga destroyed the power of the Pradyotas of Avanti, and the tradition recorded in the *Mālālaṅkāravatthu* that the city of Rājagṛha lost her rank of metropolis from his time, point to the same conclusion.

A welcome light on the problem of Bimbisāra's lineage comes from an unexpected quarter. The *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa, a contemporary of Kaniṣka, informs us that when 'Śreṇya', the lord of the country of the Magadhas, visited Buddha on the Pāṇḍava Hill[1], the latter addressed him as a scion of the *Haryaṅka Kula* (*Jātasya haryaṅkakule viśāle*, xi. 2), the family whose ensign is *Hari*. Cowell takes the word *Hari* to mean 'lion'. But the word has also the sense of 'snake' and the latter interpretation would be in keeping with the theory of Professor Bhandarkar who finds in the name of Nāga-Dasaka, a descendant of Bimbisāra, proof of the fact that these kings belonged to the 'Nāga' dynasty. Whatever be the right interpretation of the term '*Haryaṅka Kula*', it cannot be denied that it was the traditional name of Bimbisāra's dynasty in the first century of the Christian era, and, in the absence of earlier and more reliable evidence to the contrary, should be preferred to designations found in Paurāṇic chronicles of the Gupta period.

[1] It is not altogether improbable that the name of the Hill is derived from the Pāṇḍavas who are known to have come to Girivraja in the time of the legendary king Jarāsandha.

CHAPTER XXI

'THE AŚOKA CHAKRA'—ITS SYMBOLISM

Since the attainment of the status of an equal member of the (British) Commonwealth of Nations by India the Government of this country has taken two momentous steps; one, the replacement of the Union Jack by a Tricolour Flag, in the centre of which appears the design of the wheel (*chakra*) found on the abacus of the Sarnath Lion Capital of Aśoka; and the other, the adoption of a new seal with the design of the aforementioned capital itself. This has aroused a fresh interest amongst not only experts but public in general in the crowning sculptures of the Aśokan pillars, particularly the one that once graced Sarnath, *i.e.*, Isipatana-Migadāya (Deer Park near Benares) of ancient times. The latter, as is well known, is composed in an ascending order of a bell-shaped(? inverted lotus) capital; an abacus on which *are* carved in high relief an elephant, a galloping horse, a bull and a lion, placed between four wheels, and finally a drum on which stand four roaring lions back to back, which once supported a great wheel of which only fragments now remain.

Vogel thought that the four animals that appear on the abacus are merely ornamental motives.[1] But other scholars have read a symbolism in them. Smith took them as symbolic of four cardinal points.[2] Bloch conjectured that they represent the gods Sūrya, Indra, Śiva and the goddess Durgā, and indicate the subordination of these Brāhmanical deities to the Buddha and his *Dharma*.[3] Daya Ram

[1] Daya Ram Shani, *Guide to the Buddhist Ruins at Sarnath*, 41.
[2] *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* (1911), 59f.
[3] *Guide to the Buddhist Ruins at Sarnath*, 41.

Shani held that the drum with the four animals is meant to represent the Anotatta Lake, one of the sacred lakes of the Buddhists in which the Buddha t ok his bath. He drew attention, in this connection, to a Buddhist text in Burmese character which describes and illustrates the lake as having four mouths guarded by a horse, a dragon, a bull and an elephant.[1] Yuan Chwang expressly mentions that the Sarnath Pillar was erected by Aśoka at the spot at which the Buddha, having attained enlightenment, first preached his religion.[2] This fact, taken together with the well-known influence of the teaching of Buddha-Śākyamuni on Aśoka, has naturally led many scholars to interpret the capital in the light of the famous Buddhist treatise called the *Dhamma-chakka-ppavattana Sutta* which is concerned with the First Sermon of the Buddha at Isipatana-Migadāya.[3] The wheels, according, to this interpretation, *symbolize* 'the Turning of the Wheel of Law' by the Buddha, while the lions are intended to typify Śākyasiṁha, 'the Lion of the Śākya Race' or the Buddha himself.[4] Attention may also be drawn to the fact that in Buddhist symbolisms the elephant represents the Conception, the bull the date of the Nativity, and the horse the Great Departure of the

[1] *Ibid.* See also Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, I, 96f.

[2] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, 50. The Sarnath Inscription of Kumāradevī (*EI.*, IX, 325, 328) records that she restored 'the Lord of the Turning of the Wheel (*Dharmachakra Jina*) in accordance with the way in which he existed in the days of Dharmāśoka, the ruler of men.' If a fact, this points to the existence of human representation of the Buddha even as early as the time of Aśoka. Use of images of gods in the Maurya period is testified by Patañjali.

[3] In the inscription of mediaeval times the monasteries found at Sarnath were known as 'Dharmarājika', 'Dharmachakra' and 'Sad-Dharma-chakra-pravartana-vihāra' (*Gauḍalekhamala*, 108; *Guide to the Buddhist Ruins at Sarnath*,1).

[4] Marshall, *ASR.*, *AR.*, 1904-5,

Lord.[1] In other words, the whole composition of the Sarnath Capital may be taken to represent the principal events in the life of the Buddha till the time of the First Sermon, the only missing link being the *Bodhi-druma* representing the Enlightenment.

The above interpretation doubtless has much force and reason in support of it. But one should at the same time note the omission on the Sarnath abacus of the figure of deer which is generally, though not invariably, associated with wheel in the sculptural representation of the incident of the *Dharmachakrapravartana* at the Deer Park in the post-Maurya age[2] and which one reasonably expects could have been very appropriately used by Aśoka on the pillar in question. Again, it is no doubt true that the Buddha is often compared with the lion, and his preaching with *sīhanāda* or the roar of lion in several early Buddhist texts.[3] But he is invariably described in early literature as Śākya-Muni, an expression used by Aśoka himself, and not Śākya-siṁha which is unknown to Aśokan epigraphy.

Attention may now be invited to another early Buddhist text, namely, the *Chakkavatti-Sīhanāda Sutta*, which possibly affords a clue to the proper appreciation of the Sarnath Capital with its *chakra* and crowning lions. It was preached by the Buddha to the monks at Mātulā in Magadha, and contains the story of Dalhanemi, who was 'a sovereign overlord, a righteous king ruling in righteousness, lord of the four quarters of the earth, conqueror, the protector of his people (*Chakkavattī dhammiko dhamma-rāja chāturanto vijitāvī janapadatthāvariya-ppatto*), who lived in supremacy over this earth to its ocean

[1] Foucher, *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, 21. In Hindu mythology the bull is sometimes taken to represent Justice or Virtue personified. Cf. *Vṛisho hi bhagavān Dharmo* (Manu, VIII. 16).

[2] For wheel associated with deer, see Foucher, *op. cit.*, Plates IV, XIX, and without the animal, Plates II, XXVIII.

[3] Rhys Davids and Stede, *Pāli-English Dictionary* (1925), 173.

bounds, having conquered it, not by the scourge, not by the sword, but by righteousness (*so imaṁ pathavīṁ sāgara-pariyantaṁ adaṇḍena asatthena dhammena abhivijīya ajjhāvasati*)'. It further expatiates upon the Aryan duty of a *chakravartī* ruler to live 'on the law of truth and righteousness (*Dhamma*), honouring, respecting and revering it, doing homage to it, hallowing it'...........providing 'the right watch, ward and protection for his own folk, for the army, for the nobles, for vassals, for Brāhmins and householders, for town and country dwellers, for the religious world, and for beasts and birds'.

The above description undoubtedly contains the Buddhist idea of an all-conquering temporal ruler, as opposed to his counterpart in the religious world. It further recalls the following passage of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* :

> *chakkavattī ahuṁ rājā Jambusaṇḍassa issaro*
> *muddhābhisitto khattiyo manussādhipati ahuṁ*
> *adaṇḍena asatthena vijeyya pathaviṁ imaṁ*
> *asāhasena dhammena samena manusāsiyā*
> *dhammena rajjam kāretvā asmin pathavimaṇḍale.*

The known facts of Aśoka's life after the Kaliṅga War, who deprecated conquest through arrow (*sarasake eva vijaye*); who proclaimed that the chief conquest was the conquest by righteousness (*Dhammavijaya*), and that he had won this repeatedly among his borderers and 'even as far as at the distance of six hundred *yojanas*', where his Hellenistic contemporaries were ruling; whose solicitude for his people, for *Brāhmaṇas* and *Śramaṇas* as well as for beasts and birds is eloquently borne out by his epigraphs, certainly show that he was considered as a likeness or a prototype of Dalhanemi.[1] In the *Divyāvadāna* he is actually described as a *chaturbhāga chakravarttī Dhārmiko Dharmarājo.*[2]

[1] Another monarch of this type was Mahā-Sudassana mentioned in the *Mahāsudassana Sutta*.

[2] Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 2nd ed., 237.

The *Chakkavatti-Sīhanāda-Sutta*, as well as several other early texts, *e.g.* the *Mahāsudassana Sutta*, the *Mahāpadāna Sutta*, the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta*, describe the *chakkavattī* as the possessor of seven precious things (*sattaratanasamannāgato*), namely, the *chakkaratana* ('the Treasure of the Wheel'), the *Hatthiratana* ('the Treasure of the Elephant'), the *Assaratana* ('the Treasure of the Horse'), the *Maṇiratana* ('the Treasure of the Gem'), the *Itthiratana* ('the Pearl among Women'), the *Ghapatiratana* (the Commoner), and the *Pariṇāyakaratana* ('the Treasure of the Councillor').[1] What is worthy of note is that in early Buddhist literature the wheel is not invariably associated merely with the First Sermon of the Lord. It is an essential attribute of a *chakravartī* ruler, 'the symbol of a monarch's conquering efficacy, the wheel of his chariot rolling over his dominions'.[2] We are told that travelling through the air it appears only before the king of a warrior race, an anointed king who has purified himself, and following it to the various quarters of the world the king becomes a *chakravartī*. Epic references also show that the *chakra* was the mark of universal sovereignty and apparently represented the wheel of the monarch's chariot. Compare :

yāvad āvartate chakraṁ tāvatī me vasundharā.
(*Rām.*, II, 10, 36)
paraṁ ch-ābhiprayātasya chakraṁ tasya mahātmanaḥ
bhavishyatyapratihataṁ satataṁ chakravarttinaḥ.
(*Mbh.*, I, 73, 30)

[1] For jewels associated with a *chakravartī* ruler, see also *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, 57.68-71.

[2] Rhys Davids and Stede *op. cit.*, 89. The *chakkaratana*, as described in Pali texts, has thousand spokes. In lithic representations we find a lesser number. The wheels on the Sarnath abacus have twenty-four spokes each. It does not seem that any special significance attaches to this figure.

tasya tat prathitaṁ chakraṁ prāvartata mahātmanaḥ
bhāsvaraṁ divyamajitaṁ lokasannādanaṁ mahat
* * * * *
sa rājā chakravartyāsīt sārvabhaumaḥ pratāpavān
īje cha bahubhir yajñair yathā Śakro Marutpatiḥ.
(*Mbh.*, I, 74, 127, 129)[1]

The Buddhist texts noted above also say that riding upon his *hatthiratana* and the *assaratana* the *chakravartī* could pass over along the broad earth to its very ocean boundary. That horses were yoked to chariots needs no special mention, while the use of the elephant for the same purpose is referred to by Nearchus.[2] As for the bulls or bullocks, Strabo, on the authority of Megasthenes, bears witness to their use for transporting engines of war, food for the soldiers, provender for the cattle, and other military requisites in the days of the Mauryas.[3] Another classical writer refers to races of chariots drawn by oxen, with horses on either sides, which was in vogue in Pāṭaliputra presumably in the time of the same dynasty,[4] We thus see that while the *chakra* may symbolize the chariot of an all-conquering monarch, three of the animals on the Sarnath abacus may also be connected with his vehicle, or at least with the extension of his influence far and wide. Finally, the lion undoubtedly typifies the might of a *chakravartī*. Emperors are not unoften compared with this mighty beast of forest in Indian as well as non-Indian literature. Lion-throne and lion-gate are counted among their other attributes, and the

[1] For the significance of the word *chakra* in *chakravartin*, see Nilakanta Sastri's Presidential Address, Indian History Congress, Third Session, Proceedings, 267ff.

[2] *Cambridge History of India*, I, 405. cf. also Seltman, *Greek Coins*, p. 229; I.A. XI. 125.

[3] McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, 88.

[4] Monahan, *Early History of Bengal*, 172, *Rāmayaṇa*, II, 70. 29 refers to chariots drawn by camels, horses, cows and asses.

lion-roar (*siṁhanāda*) indicates a war-cry, a cry challenging rivals to battle. In this light the four roaring lions sitting back to back and directing their gaze to the four quarters of the earth assumes new significance.[1]

'The birth of Ajātasatru and the enlightenment of the Buddha took place in the same country and the same age, and they met in Rājagriha as Charles V and Martin Luther did at Worms. The symbol of aggressive imperialism stood face to face with the preacher of piety and morality, a leader of a movement that was destined to convulse a continent. The two ideologies did not long remain apart. They were harmonized and the magician who worked the miracle was Dharmāśoka who combined in himself the imperial tradition of his forebears as well as the spiritual fervour of the age of the Śākyas.'[2] The Sarnath Capital stands as a monument of this harmony between two oppos-

[1] The expressions *siṁha-yāna* and *siṁha-ratha* (Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1213) show that lions are also associated with chariot in Indian mythology.

The lion *motif* is found in Western Asia at a much early date. It has been suggested that the Mauryan sculptors were familiar with Persian art tradition, while others have detected Greek influence on Mauryan art. The treatment of muzzle and paws of the Sarnath lions, we are told, is reminiscent of Khorsabad and Persepolis (René Grousset, *The Civilizations of the East* (India), 89). Another scholar points out the similarity of the treatment of the hair of these animals to those found at Halicarnasus in Asia Minor (*IA.*, 1908, 278). It is worth while to remember, in this connection, not only the existence of political and social contact between India and the Western world during the Maurya Period, but also the presence of a considerable number of foreigners in the Mauryan metropolis which necessitated the appointment of special officers, including physicians and judges, to look to their needs.

[2] Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th ed., 188-89.

ing ideas. It blends into its stony textures the story of the birth of a new religion (the *Dhammachakkappavattana* of the Buddha), as well as that of the *Dhammavijaya* of a historical Buddhist *chakravartī*.

CHAPTER XXII

OBSERVATIONS ON CERTAIN POST-MAURYAN DYNASTIES

The political history of the centuries immediately following the disintegration of the Maurya Empire is still somewhat obscure. Scraps of information may, no doubt, be gleaned from literature, inscriptions and coins, but it is no easy task to weave them into a coherent narrative. The literary tradition embodied in the *Purāṇas* is not always confirmed or elucidated by epigraphic or numismatic testimony, and stray names furnished by inscriptions and coins are not, in several cases, capable of presentation in the shape of a connected story.

The *Bhaviṣyānukīrtana* section of the *Purāṇas*, which deals with "future" kings and is regarded by some as the most systematic record of Indian historical tradition, ignores many ruling families and tribes whose existence is vouched for by contemporary archaeological evidence. Moreover, the designations applied by the Purāṇic texts to a number of royal lines, for example the families of Simuka and "Nakhapāna", are not confirmed by epigraphs. The order of succession, too, does not in *all* cases accord with archaeological testimony. For instance, the only Āpīlaka known to the Purānic passages that deal with the so-called Andhra kings is placed very early in the list. Numismatic evidence, on the other hand, suggests that Śiva-Śrī-Āpīlaka should be classed with later rulers of the family like Śrī-Yajña-Sātakarṇi.[1] There are also some important omissions in the Purāṇic lists. The cases of Śakti-Śri-

[1] *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, X., 1936-37, p. 225.

and of Śrī-Kumbha Sātakarṇi[1] may be mentioned in this connection. These facts should be borne in mind in utilising the testimony of the *Purāṇas* for the reconstruction of the history not only of the Sātavāhanas but of other lines as well.

According to Purāṇic evidence the immediate successors of the Mauryas were the Śuṅgas, a line that is taken to commence with *Senānī* Puṣyamitra. There are two well-known epigraphs found at Bharhut in Central India which refer to the sovereignty of the Śuṅgas,[2] and Puṣyamitra himself is mentioned in an Ayodhyā Inscription.[3] But the last-mentioned record does not style Puṣyamitra as a Śuṅga and the Śuṅga records at Bharhut have no reference to that king, his son or grandson. According to the most recent view[4] the Bharhut Inscription of Dhanabhūti mentioning "the reign of the Sugas" (*Śuṅgas*) is to be classed with the epigraphs of Indrāgnimitra and Brahmamitra and assigned to the earlier part of the *first* century B.C., and not to the age of Puṣyamitra and Agnimitra who flourished in the second century B.C. It may be remembered in this connection that the dynastic designation Śuṅga is applied to Puṣyamitra and his progeny *only* in the *Purāṇas*. It is not used in reference to the great *Senānī* and his son in the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Mālavikāgnimitram* or even in the *Harṣacaritam*[5] which mentions the dynastic revolution involving the overthrow of the last of the imperial Mauryas by Puṣyamitra. The name of Śuṅga is, no doubt, known

[1] Of the Akola hoard, referred to by Mr. Mirashi at the meeting of the Numismatic Society held on 17th December, 1939.

[2] Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* Nos. 687, 688.

[3] *J.B.O.R.S.*, X (1924), p. 203 etc.

[4] Marshall, Foucher and Majumdar, *Monuments of Sāñchī*, I., p. 271.

[5] *Pratijñādurbalaṁca baladarśanavyāpadeśa darśitāśeṣasainyaḥ Senānīranāryo Mauryaṁ Bṛhadrathaṁ pipeṣa Puṣyamitraḥ svāminam.*

to the last-mentioned text, but Bāṇa, the author, applies it not to the commander who overthrew Bṛhadratha Maurya but to the ruler killed by the emissaries of Vasudeva (*Kāṇvāyana*).[1] The dynastic connection of this prince (Devabhūti) with Puṣyamitra rests *entirely* on Purāṇic evidence and receives no confirmation from independent sources. It is well known how the *Purāṇas* mix up dynasties or collateral lines of rulers claiming descent from the same legendary hero. The Śākyas of Kapilavastu, for instance, are represented as ancestors of Prasenajit of Kosala, a prince described as a son of Rāhula and a grandson of Siddhārtha :—

Śuddhodanasya bhavitā Siddhārtho Rāhulaḥ sutaḥ
Prasenajit tato bhāvyaḥ Kṣudrako bhavitā tataḥ

Śiśunāga who, according to the *Purāṇas*, rose to power having taken away the glory of the Pradyotas (*hatvā teṣāṁ yaśaḥ kṛtsnam*) is represented by those texts as belonging to the same family as Bimbisāra and Darśaka and is actually described as their ancestor. This goes not only against the testimony of Buddhist literature which clearly distinguishes between the line of Bimbisāra and the later family of Śiśunāga, but also against the evidence of two plays attributed to Bhāsa (the *Svapna-Vāsavadattaṃ* and the *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa*) and a verse ascribed to Kālidāsa[2] which makes Pradyota, Udayana (Vatsarāja) and Darśaka contemporaries. As in the case of the so-called "Śaiśunāgas" so also in the case of the so-called Śuṅgas the possibility is, therefore, not precluded that the *Purāṇas* may have included under the name Śuṅga two distinct groups of kings, *viz.*, the line of

[1] *Atistrīsaṅgaratam anaṅgaparavaśam Śuṅgam amātyo Vasudevo Devabhūtidāsīduhitrā devī-vyañjanayā vītajīvitamakārayat.*

Harṣacaritam, Parab's edition (1918). Ucchvāsa VI. p. 199.

[2] *Pradyotasya priyaduhitaraṁ Vatsarājo'tra jahre (Meghadūtam).*

Puṣyamitra which is styled Baimbika by Kālidāsa, and the *real Śuṅgas* who succeeded this line and are referred to by Bāṇa and the Bharhut Inscription of Dhanabhūti.

To the Śuṅgas succeeded, according to the *Purāṇas*, the dynasty named Kaṇva or Kāṇvāyana. The *Bhaviṣyānukīrtana* styles them servants of the Śuṅgas (*Śuṅgabhṛtya*) and *dvija* (twice-born) and represents the founder of the line as an *amātya* (minister or some other high official) of the last Śuṅga in the Purāṇic list. The Kaṇva family is an old one. It is mentioned in Vedic literature.[1] The *Purāṇas* represent it as an offshoot from the Paurava line,[2] and bring it into special relationship with the kings of Hāstinapura and Pañcāla. It may be remembered in this connection that the name of the second Kāṇvāyana king of the Purāṇic list is Bhūmimitra, and an identical name is actually found on certain coins attributed by Cunningham to a dynasty exercising sway in Pañcāla.[3] Rulers of this group include an Agnimitra as well. In the *Purāṇas* the line of kings to which Bhūmimitra belongs succeeds the group headed by Agnimitra and his father. It may be noted here that rulers issuing the same or similar types of coins in a given locality need not *all* belong to the *same* family. Succeeding dynasties are known to have continued the coin-types of their predecessors with or without modifications.

The *Bhaviṣyānukīrtana* does not afford any *definite* information as to the location of the capital *city* or the metropolitan *province* of the Kāṇvāyanas. In speaking of the territory over which they exercised sway it uses vague terms like *Mahī*, *Vasundharā* and *Bhūmi*, and does not name well-defined localities like Girivraja, Kusumāhvaya,

[1] *Vedic Index*, I. 147.

[2] *Matsya*, 49, 47; *Vāyu*, 99, 170; *A.I.H.T.* (Pargiter), p. 225.

[3] Allan, *C.I.C.*, *A.I.*, pp.cxvii, 198.

Magadha, Sāketa, Prayāga, etc. It is, however, to be noted that the founder of the line is said to have become king among the Suṅgas (*Suṅgeṣu bhavitā nṛpa*).[1] Now the Suṅga line *in extremis* is in the *Purāṇas* definitely associated with the Vaidiśa territory, that is to say, the region round Vidiśā or Besnagar in Eastern Malwa.

Nṛpān Vaidiśakāṁścāpi bhaviṣyāṁstu nibodhata

Bhūtinandas tataścāpi Vaidiśe tu bhaviṣyati
Suṅgānāṁ tu kulasyānte Siśunandir bhaviṣyati[2]

This fact along with the Bharhut Inscription of Dhanabhūti undoubtedly points to Eastern Malwa and that neighbourhood as the locality with which the Suṅgas of the *first* century B.C. are to be connected. So far as the Purāṇic evidence goes, there is no reason to doubt that the Kāṇvāyana Mayor of the Palace, who ousted the Suṅga *roi fainéant*, ruled in the same region.

If the *Mālavikāgnimitram* is to be believed, the southern frontier of the "Vaidiśa" territory had been pushed as far as the valley of the Varadā or Wardha as early as the days of Agnimitra. That the Kaṇvas extended their sway over certain neighbouring regions is suggested by the epithet *praṇata-sāmanta*[3] applied to them in the *Purāṇas*. The word *sāmanta*, it may be remembered, is equated with *sāmīpa* by the draftsmen of the Aśokan Rock Edict II. One direction in which the Kaṇva sovereignty *may* have extended, is the north where coins bearing the name of Bhūmimitra have been found. Another direction is clearly indicated by the expression *bhṛtya* (or servant of the last

[1] Pargiter, *D.K.A.*, p. 34.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 49.

[3] *etc praṇata-sāmantā bhaviṣyā dhārmikāśca ye*,—Pargiter, *D.K.A.*, p. 35.

Kaṇva) used in reference to *Rājā* Simuka and his fellow tribesmen. As the early epigraphic records of Simuka's line have been discovered in the Nānāghāṭ and the Nāsik regions, it is not improbable that the later Kaṇvas succeeded in extending their frontier to the Godāvarī and even further to the south. The term *bhṛtya* in the passage

Kāṇvāyanāṁstato bhṛtyāḥ Suśarmāṇaṁ prasahya tam[1]

is paralleled by the expression *paricāraka* used in reference to the *Āṭavika rājas* who felt the irresistible might of Samudra Gupta.

No inscription definitely assignable to the Kāṇvāyana dynasty has been discovered so far. A Mahārāja Viśvāmitrasvāmin is mentioned in a Besnagar (East Malwa) Seal Inscription.[2] It is not clear as to whether Viśvāmitra is to be taken here as a personal name or a family designation. As is well known the figure of Viśvāmitra appears on Audumbara coins[3] and the *Vāyu Purāṇa* points to the intimate connection of the sage with the tribe in question.[4] But there is nothing to connect Mahārāja Viśvāmitrasvāmin of Besnagar or Vidiśā (in East Malwa) with the Kangra district where Audumbara coins have been found in large numbers. Epic and Purāṇic genealogies connect the sage Viśvāmitra with the royal line of Ajamīḍha and queen Keśinī[5]—the same personages from whom the Kāṇvāyana *dvijas* are supposed to derive their origin. It may be recalled in this connection that an inscription of *Paramabhaṭṭārikā Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvarī* Daṇḍī Mahādevī refers to a person belonging to the Viśvāmitra *gotra* as a

[1] *D.K.A.*, p. 38.
[2] *P.R.A.S.I.*, *W.C.*, 1915, p. 64.
[3] Allan, *C.I.C.*, *A.I.*, p. lxxxiv.
[4] *Vāyu*, 91. 94-98.
[5] *Mbh.* I. 94. 31-33, *Brahma Purāṇa*, XIII, 83-91; *Matsya*, 49. 46-47.

student of the *Kaṇva Śākhā*.[1] The evidence cited may not be sufficient to establish a dynastic connection between Mahārāja Viśvāmitrasvāmin and the Kāṇvāyana line of the *Purāṇas*. But the matter is worth further study.

The *Brahma Purāṇa* adds the interesting information that the royal grandfather of Viśvāmitra grew up among the Pahlava or Parthian forest folk :—

Pahlavaiḥ saha saṁvṛddho rājā vanacaraiḥ saha [2]

Contact between Vidiśā and the Yavana realm in the north-west is referred to in a record of Bhāgabhadra. Did the Parthian successors of the Indo-Greeks maintain this contact when the line of Bhāgabhadra was supplanted by a family bearing the famous name of Viśvāmitra, and have we an echo of this in the Puraṇic legend about the association of Viśvāmitra's family with the Parthians? Further discoveries alone may show if such a surmise is warranted.

According to Purāṇic chronology Kaṇva rule came to an end 137 + 112 + 45 = 294 years[3] after the fall of the Nandas and the accession of Candragupta Maurya, that is, not earlier than 31 B.C. Classical writers refer to Indian embassies which reached Augustus in 27, 26 and 20 B.C. The king who sent the ambassadors is named by some authorities as 'Pandion' and by others 'Porus'. As Kātyāyana derives the name Pāṇḍya from Pāṇḍu, king 'Pandion' might doubtless lay claim to Paurava ancestry. But it should be remembered that the Kāṇvāyanas, too, according to Purāṇic tradition, were of Paurava extraction. The presents sent by the Indian monarch to his Roman

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, *VI.*, pp. 136, 139.

[2] *Brahma Purāṇa*, XIII, 89.

[3] This agrees with epigraphic evidence. According to the Hāthigumphā inscription, the interval between the Nandas and Khāravela, a contemporary of Sātakarṇī, who is usually identified with the son of the destroyer of Kaṇva power, is 300 (*ti-vasa-śata*) years.

contemporary included a boy without arms, *snakes*, a river *tortoise* and a big partridge. A deity holding a snake figures prominently on Bhūmimitra's coins and the tortoise is specially associated in art with the Jumna, though it is also found elsewhere. These are interesting coincidences which, however, do not amount to proof of the identity of the Indian monarch in question with any of the Kāṇvāyanas of Mid-India. According to Nicolaus of Damascus, the Indian ruler in question (styled Porus) is described as sovereign of six hundred kings. This description suits the imperial successors of the Mauryas and the Śuṅgas, who were *praṇata-sāmanta*, better than the ruler of Madura, Tinnevelly and one or two adjoining districts of Southern India. It is not impossible that records of embassies of two distinct rulers, one from the Far South and the other from Central India, both meeting at the city of Barygaza and pursuing the rest of the journey together, have got mixed up in the Classical accounts.[1]

[1] Strabo, XV, 1, 4, and 73; Strabo refers to one king. But Don Cassius speaks of *many embassies* coming to Augustus (M'Crindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 212). See also *J.R.A.S.*, 1860, pp. 309 ff.

CHAPTER XXIII

The Karddamaka Kings

In the Kanheri Inscription of the *amātya* Sateraka the queen of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi is described as "*Kārddamaka-vaṃśaprabhavā Mahākṣatrapa Ru......putrī*". The Mahākṣatrapa Ru......has been identified with the Great Śaka Satrap Rudradāman I who ruled over Malwa, Gujarat and some adjoining territories about the middle of the second century A.D. The term *Kārddamaka-vaṃśa* has, however, not yet been satisfactorily explained. In the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali (iv. 2) and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (ii. 11) we have a similar expression *Kārddamika*. Dr. Bühler thinks it not improbable that *Kārddamaka-rāja* may have been a title of the Western Kṣatrapas apparently derived from a place called Kārddama (*IA*., XII. 273). In this connection he refers to a locality called Kardamila known from the *Mahābhārata*, and also to the expression *Karddama-rāja* which occurs in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (VI. 200) as the name or title of a Kashmirian prince. The position of Kardamila has not, however, been indicated by him. As to Karddama-rāja mentioned by Kalhaṇa it is to be noted that it is a personal name which need not have any reference to the *Kārddamaka-vaṃśa* which is undoubtedly a dynastic designation, although (as Rapson points out) it is uncertain as to whether it is the designation of the paternal or maternal ancestors of the queen of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi.

In the *Political History of Ancient India* (third edition, pp. 296, 343) the suggestion has been made that the Kārddamaka family probably derived its name from the river Karddama in Pārasîka or Persia (*Pārasîkeṣu Karddama nāma nadî*—Com. on *Arthaśāstra*, ii. 11). The commen-

tator on the *Arthaśāstra* does not, however, give us any indication as to the particular province of Persia where the river in question is to be located. As the Kārddamakas are ancestors of a Śaka princess, possibly the daughter of the Great Satrap Rudradāman I, it is permissible to conjecture that they are to be looked for in one of the two regions of the Persian Empire which were specially associated with the Śakas, *viz.*, (1) Śakasthāna or Seistan, the valley of the Helmand, and (2) the vast plains of the Syr Darya or Jaxartes referred to as *Para-Sugda* in the Hamadan, inscription of Darius. In the opinion of Professor Herzfeld the editor of the inscription, the fertile valley of the Zarafshan river as far as the banks of the Syr Darya, was included within the old Achæmenian satrapy of Bactria or Balkh. And it is interesting to note that there is actual evidence of the existence of an Indian tradition connecting a line of 'Kārddama' kings with Bālhika or Bāhlika, modern Balkh. The *Uttara-Kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* knows a dynasty of kings whose progenitor is called Kārddameya (ch. 100, 19 ; 102, 20) or Kārddama (100, 29) :—

uttiṣṭhottiṣṭha rājarṣe Kārddameya Mahābala (100. 19)
na santāpastayā kāryaḥ Kārddameya Mahābala (102. 20)
evaṃ sa rājā puruṣo māsaṃ bhūtvātha Kārddamaḥ
(100. 29).

The Kārddamas were closely related to the 'Aila' (lunar) race. They are said to have been descended from a *prajāpati* named *Karddama* (100. 3-7) and ruled over Bālhi or Bālhika :—

śrūyate hi purā saumya Karddamasya prajāpateḥ
putro Bāhliśvaraḥ śrīmān Ilo nāma sudhārmikaḥ

This Bāhli (Bālhi) or Bālhika (100.7) lay outside the *Madhya-deśa* (103.21) and should, therefore, be distinguished from the place of the same name mentioned in the *Ayodhyā-Kāṇḍa* (68. 18) as lying to the west (cf. *Pratyaṅ-*

mukho of verse 13) of the river Ikṣumatî and to the east of Mount Sudāman and *Viṣṇoḥpadaṃ*. The position of this 'Viṣṇupada' in relation to the Vipāśā (*Ayodhyā-K.*, 68. 19) or the Beas suggests that it is identical with *Viṣṇupada-giri* of the Meharauli Iron Pillar inscription of Candra and, therefore, stood close to Delhi.

Nor is it reasonable to identify the Bālhi of the *Uttara-Kāṇda* with the territory of the Madras in the central Punjab on the strength of some passages of the *Mahābhārata* (*Ādi.*, 113, 3; 125, 21 etc.) because the Madra kings are not styled 'Kārddama,' and the word 'Bālhika' in these passages may very well be a copyist's mistake for Bāhika (cf. the reference in *Ādi.* 67. 6, to Śalya, king of the Madras, *sa Śalya iti vikhyāto jajñe Bāhika-puṅgavaḥ*). So, too, in the passage '*Darado nāma Bālhikaḥ*', the original reading may have been Bāhika. There is no valid reason for equating the term *Bālhika* with *Bāhika* and *Darada*. If the derivation of the name 'Kārddamaka' from the river Karddama in Pārasika is correct than it stands to reason that the home of the Kārddama or Kārddamaka kings should be identified with Bālhika or Balkh in Irān and not with any territory in India proper.

Thus far we have been dealing with the tradition connecting the Kārddama kings with Bālhika. Have we any tradition about their connection with the Deccan where the Kanheri inscription has been found? Now, the *Brahma Purāṇa* (IV. 12) connects a son of Prajāpati Karddama with the *Dakṣiṇā diś* :—

> *Dakṣiṇasyāṃ diśi tathā*
> *Karddamasya Prajāpateḥ*
> *putraṃ Śaṅkhapadaṃ nāma*
> *rājānaṃ so'bhyasecayat.*

The verse cited above undoubtedly points to a period when the Kārddamas were associated with the Deccan. The

names Karddama and Śaṅkhapada are doubtless those of eponymous and legendary heroes, probably wholly mythical. But the Kārddamakas are a historic dynasty and tradition recorded in the Epic and Purāṇic literature undoubtedly points to Balkh and that neighbourhood as their early habitat whence they probably migrated to the south. Tradition, it may be conceded, is not history. But it cannot altogether be ignored in attempting an explanation of the term '*Kārddamaka-vaṃśa-prabhavā.*'

CHAPTER XXIV

THE STONE-BOAT OF DHARMAPĀLA

There is a passage in Sandhyākara's *Rāmacarita* in connection with the eulogy of the famous king Dharmapāla of Bengal which has puzzled modern scholars and commentators. We are told that the "stone-boat" (*grāvanau*) of the great king floated on the sea, even as gourds (*ikshvāku*), and looked radiant as it effected a successful crossing :—

Tatkuladīpo nṛipatirabhūd
Dharmo dhāmavān ivekṣvākuḥ
yasyābdhiṁ tīrṇā grāvanau
rarājāpi kīrttiravadātā[1]

The ancient commentator explains *grāvanau* as *śilānaukā* or stone-boat. The distinguished scholars[2] to whom we owe the latest edition of the *Rāmacarita* find in the verse a possible reference to a naval expedition, but add that "what is meant by stone-boats (*śilānaukā*) is not very clear. What important historical event is alluded to in this obscure passage, we shall perhaps never know".[3]

The evidence of a Javanese text may, however, be considered in this connection. The text in question is the *Tantu Panggelaran*. Dr. Majumdar[4] points out that it is a work of the nature of a *Purāṇa* and contains matters relating to theology, cosmogony as well as stories of a mythological character. In this text we have the tale of a great *Guru*, an ascetic (*viku, i.e., bhikshu*) of the *Bhairava*

[1] *Rāmacaritam*, I. 4.

[2] Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. R. G. Basak and Pandit N. G. Banerji, Kavyatirtha.

[3] Introduction, p. x.

[4] *Suvarṇadvīpa*, II. pp. 113, 133.

sect whose weird and uncanny practices led to a royal decree for his expulsion from Java. The king's men threw him into the sea, but he came back. Then they burnt his body and threw the ashes into the sea. But the *viku* could not be disposed of in that way. What followed is best stated in the words of Dr. Majumdar :—

"Amazed at the exhibition of the magical power by the Pandit, the king's emissaries fell at his feet when the latter said: 'I belong to the island of Kambangan and have a Bhujangga-maṇḍala there. As the king is angry, I shall go back to my own land; *a piece of stone will I take as my boat.*' The bewildered servants of the king became his disciples and accompanied him . . . . . . Sometime later (the aforesaid *viku*) came back to the island of Java. He divided his body in two parts, and there arose one Saugata (Buddhist) empu Waluh-bang and one Saiva, empu Bāramg."

We have in the above extract reference to a "stone-boat", the use of which by the wizard of Bhairava sect is doubtless intended to illustrate his possession of miraculous power. It is not improbable that posterity attributed to Dharmapāla, just those magic powers that they had learnt to associate with the adepts of the *Bhujangga maṇḍalas* or orders of Śaiva or Buddhist wizards. The ascription to Gopāla, the father of Dharmapāla, of the attributes to the Buddha (*Lokanātha, Daśabala*) in the Bhāgalpur Grant of Nārāyaṇapāla[1] and several later records, may be recalled in this connection. Sandhyākara Nandin lived some three centuries after Dharmapāla. In his days the figure of the real founder of Pāla imperialism must have become almost mythical, and we need not be surprised at the attribution to him of the use of a stone-boat like that of Mahampu Palyat of Javanese legend.

[1] A. K. Maitraya, *Gauḍalekhamālā*, 56.

CHAPTER XXV

THE PŪRVARAJAR OF THE VEḶVIKKUḌI GRANT

FROM the dawn of authentic history the Far South of India beyond the Krisṇā and the Tuṅgabhadrā has constituted a world by itself. As pointed out by Dr. Vincent Smith, it was ordinarily so secluded from the rest of the country that its affairs remained hidden from the gaze of other peoples. Enterprising rulers even in this region cherished, however, the ambition of universal Indian dominion, and poets now and then sang of a Southern prince who led expeditions to the North, and was believed to have extended his sway, temporarily at any rate, over the massive plain "decked with the Ganges as with a pearl necklace."[2]

Sa sāgarāmbarāṁ urvīṁ
Gaṅgāmauktikahāriṇīṁ
babhāra suchiraṁ vīro
Meru-Mandāra-kuṇḍalāṃ.[1]

At times invaders from Northern and Eastern India would push through the rugged valleys of the Narmadā and the Mahānadī, the Godāvarī and the Krisṇā, carry their arms deep into the lands of Kāñchī and Karṇāṭa, and thus lift the veil in which the mysterious realms of the Far South were shrouded. The most famous among the invasions from the North were those led by the Mauryas in the third or the fourth century B.C. and the Guptas in the fourth century A.D. That a third dynasty which for a time held

[1] *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. 26 (No. 32)—Amarāvati Inscription. Cf. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, pt. iv, The Larger Sinnamanūr Plates:—"*Mahīpatīnām Himāchalāropitaśāsanānām.*" The exploits of Rājendra Chōḷa I are well-known.

its court in the old imperial city of Pāṭaliputra also claims to have overrun the Far South of India is not so well known to students of antiquity. The line of kings referred to is the famous Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihār. In the Monghyr Plate of Devapāla, his father Dharmapāla—a contemporary and rival of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarchs of the Deccan in the latter half of the eighth century A.D.—is said to have undertaken a *Digvijaya* in the course of which his followers are said to have performed holy rites at Gōkarṇa, apparently in North Kanara.

Kedāre vidhinopayukta-payasāṁ
Gaṅgāsametāmbudhau
Gokarṇādiṣu chāpyanuṣṭhitavatāṁ
Tīrtheṣu dharmyāḥ kriyāḥ.

"(On his expeditions) they (the followers of Dharmapāla) bathed according to prescribed rules at Kedāra and where the ocean is joined by the Ganges, and *performed religious rites at Gokarṇa* and other sacred spots."[1]

Devapāla himself is said to have had Karṇāṭas among his *sēvakas* (servants), and is credited with having "enjoyed the whole earth free from rivals up to the revered (mountain), the source of the Ganges, *and as far as the Bridge which proclaims the fame of the destroyer of the ten-headed* (*Rāvaṇa*), as far as the ocean which is the abode of Varuṇa, and as far as the ocean which is the birth-place of Lakṣmī"[2] :—

Ā-Gaṅgāgama-mahitāt sapatna-śūnyāṁ
āsetoḥ prathita-daśāsyaketukīrteḥ
urvīm ā-Varuṇanike(ta)nāchcha Sindho-r
ā-Lakṣmīkulabhavanāchcha yo bubhoja.

The Bādāl Pillar inscription makes specific mention of the fact that Devapāla not only defeated the Utkalas, Huns and Gurjaras but humbled the pride and conceit of the lord or lords of the Drāviḍas :—

Utkīlitotkalakulaṁ hṛita-Hūṇagarvaṁ
Kharvīkṛita Drāviḍa-Gūrjara-nātha darpaṁ

There is undoubtedly a good deal of exaggeration in these eulogies. But are they absolutely without any foundation? Is there no substratum of truth behind these claims? Have we no corroborative evidence that rulers of Eastern India whose territories embraced Magadha actually figured in the politics of the Far South of India in the eighth and the ninth centuries A.D., the period to which Dharmapāla and his son Devapāla must be assigned? Curiously enough, certain Pāṇḍya records furnish interesting information on the point. The Vēḷvikkuḍi grant of about 769—70 A.D. informs us that a Pāṇḍya officer named Māṛaṅgāri, "crest jewel of the *Vaidyakula*," took part in a fight when *Pūrvarājar* or eastern kings rose up and put to flight at Venbai the powerful *Vallabha* king,[1] apparently the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Kṛiṣṇa I of the Deccan, on the occasion when the excellent daughter of Gaṅgarāja was secured and offered to the Pāṇḍya king (Koṅgarkōn = Neḍunjaḍaiyan). The Talegaon plates show Kṛiṣṇa actually encamped in 768 at Manne in the Mysore State then ruled by the Gaṅgas. The expression *pūrvarājar* reminds us of the epithet "*Pūrvakṣitidhara*" of the Pāla records, and may have been used to denote the Pāla rulers of Eastern India together with their feudatories. The defeat of Kṛiṣṇa I at the hands of the Pālas and his failure to secure a Gāṅga princess for himself or for one of his sons, probably afford a clue to the well-known hostility of Kṛiṣṇa's progeny towards the Pālas and the Gaṅgas. The alliance of the

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, XVII. 309. The emperors of the Deccan belonging to the royal houses of Chaḷukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa called themselves *Vallabha*, *Śrī Vallabha* or *Śrī Pṛithvī Vallabha* "beloved of *Śrī* (Lakṣmī) and *Pṛithvī* (the Earth Goddess)" doubtless in imitation of the god Viṣṇu the Preserver whose name is usually invoked at the commencement of their epigraphic records.

eastern kings with the Pāṇḍyas did not, however, last long. We learn from the Siṇṇamaṇūr Plates that the Pāṇḍya king Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha (who ruled about A.D. 815—862) repulsed a confederation of Gaṅgas, Pallavas, Chōḷas, Kaliṅgas, *Magadhas* and others at a place called Kuḍamūkkil, identified by Tamil scholars with Kumbhakōṇam. The last-mentioned document clearly establishes the presence in the Tamil country, in the ninth century A.D., of warriors from Magadha who had as their allies the Kaliṅgas of the Orissa coast and the Gaṅgas of the South Kanarese region, besides other peoples. It will be remembered that about this time the Pālas exercised sovereignty in Magadha. They claimed to have conquered Orissa. They had Karṇāṭas among their *sevakas* (servants) and had measured swords with a ruler or rulers of Drāviḍa in the Far South of India. The expression *Drāviḍanātha* cannot have sole reference to the contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor as has been suggested by some scholars. It may refer to some Tamil potentate as well.

In this connection it is interesting to note that a part of the Tamil country embracing portions of the Salem and Arcot districts actually came to be known as Magadaimaṇḍala and a famous city in South Arcot bore the name Pāṭaliputtiram.[1] It is for scholars to find out whether the names Magadai and Pāṭaliputtiraṁ are reminiscent of the Pāla invasions of the eigth and ninth centuries A.D. or of the earlier inroads of the Mauryas and the Guptas. Contemporary records of the Imperial Mauryas have, however, not yet been found beyond the Chitaldrug district of Mysore, and the Guptas do not seem to have penetrated beyond Conjeeveram. In view of these facts and the late appearance of the name Magadaimaṇḍala in the South Indian epigraphs,

[1] V. Rangacharya, *A Topographical List of the Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I, pp. 176, 197, etc.; V. A. Smith, *E.H.I.*, (4th edition), 495.

it is not improbable that this territorial designation has something to do with the Pāla invasions of the eight and ninth centuries A.D. It is also important to recall the fact that the final overthrow of the Pāla sovereignty in Bengal was the work of a line of South Indian princes (*Dākṣiṇātya kṣaunīndra*) who were originally feudatories hailing from Karṇāṭa and the *Vaidyakula* to which the southern ally of the Eastern kings mentioned in the Vēḷvikkuḍi Plates and the bearers of the royal message (*ājñapti*) belonged, reminds us of the small *Vaidya* community of Bengal who have not been a negligible factor in the social, political and intellectual life of the province since the days of the Pāla kings.

CHAPTER XXVI

On the Emperor Mahipāla of the Pratihāra Dynasty

Mahīpāla is one of the most famous kings of the Pratīhāra line. The Haḍḍālā inscription gives for him a date in Śāka Saṁvat 836, that is, A.D. 914, and points to his supremacy over eastern Kāṭhiāvāḍ,[1] while the Asnī record of V.S. 974, that is, A.D. 917-18, implies control over Fatehpur in the United Provinces.[2] Rājaśekhara, who refers to this prince as the sovereign of Āryāvarta, ascribes to him in the *Pracaṇḍa-Pāṇḍava* extensive conquests in the Deccan as well as in North-Western India. The king figures also in the *Vikramārjunavijaya* of the Kanarese poet Pampa as an antagonist of Narasiṁha,[3] apparently a feudatory or general of Indra III Rāṣṭrakūṭa, who is known to have ruled from A.D. 915 to c. 927.

The prevailing view amongst scholars is that Mahīpāla bore at least three other names—Kṣitipāla, Vināyakapāla and Herambapāla. The ascription of these names to Mahīpāla rests primarily on the theory, first adumbrated by Kielhorn,[4] that *Hayapati* Devapāla, the son of Herambapāla, mentioned in a Candella Inscription, was identical with the Devapāla of Mahodaya or Kanauj, the successor of Kṣitipāladeva mentioned in the Sīyaḍoni Inscription of V.S. 1005, *i.e.*, A.D. 948-49, and partly on the equations Mahī =Kṣiti and Vināyaka=Heramba. The identification of

[1] *Ind. Ant.* XII. 193-94.

[2] *ibid*, XVI. 173ff.

[3] *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 380.

[4] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 171; II, 124; Majumdar, *Gurjara-Pratīhāras*, p 59; Ray, *D.H.N.I.*, 572.

Mahīpāla with Vināyakapāla extends the period of his reign to V.S. 988, *i.e.*, A.D. 931-32, and possibly to V.S. 1000 (A.D. 942-3), if not to V.S. 1011 (953-54).[1] It further makes him the step-brother and successor of Parama-Vaiṣṇava Mahārāja Śrī Bhojadeva (II) mentioned in the so-called Bengal Asiatic Society's Plate of Paramāditya-bhakta Mahārāja Śrī Vināyakapāladeva.[2]

The only dissentients from this view, so far as I know, are Pandit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha,[3] Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray[4] and the present writer.[5] It has been pointed out[6] that "*Hayapati* was never the accepted title of the Pratihāra kings of Mahodaya and is not met with in their inscriptions" and that the dates of Mahīpāla and Vināyaka do not overlap. The attitude of the Candellas towards the *Hayapati* and his father Herambapāla is certainly different from the reverential tone in which a king named Vināyaka-pāla is mentioned in the Khajuraho record: "While the illustrious Vināyakapāladeva is protecting the earth, the earth is not taken possession of by the enemies, who have been annihilated." It is further to be noted that the Asnī record of Mahīpāla (A.D. 917-18) makes no mention of Bhoja II for whom Vināyaka evinces great regard in the Asiatic Society's Plate of A.D. 931-32 :

"*Mahendrapāladevastasya putrastatpādānudhyātaḥ Śrī-Dehanāgādevyām utpannaḥ Parama-Vaiṣṇavo Mahārāja-Śrī-Bhojadevastasya bhrātā Śrī Mahendrapāladevaputra-stayoḥ pādānudhyātaḥ Śrī Mahīdevīdevyām utpannaḥ Paramādityabhakto Mahārāja Śrī Vināyakapāladevaḥ.*"

[1] Rakhetra Ins., *D.H.N.I.*, i, 585; Khajuraho ins., cf. *Gurjara-Pratīhāras*, p. 54n.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* XV. 138ff.

[3] *Ep. Ind.* XIV. 180.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* LVII. 230ff.

[5] *Gurjara-Pratīhāras* (1933), p. 54, n. 6.

[6] *Ep. Ind.* XIV. 180.

The anomaly of ignoring a brother and predecessor in one record (Asnī) and honouring 'his feet'' equally with those of the royal father himself in another (As. Society's Plate), has not been satisfactorily explained by upholders of the older view. Furthermore, the name Mahīpāla is invariably applied to the Pratīhāra monarch of the years 914-17 not only in records of the family and its feudatories but also in those of antagonists as well, and, as pointed out by Dr. R. C. Majumdar[1], the name Vināyakapāla is not met with till a later period. Professor V. V. Mirashi quotes in the *K. B. Pathaka Commemoration Volume* a passage from the drama *Caṇḍakauśika* of Kṣemīśvara in which Śrī-Mahīpāladeva is styled Kārttikeya.[2] Now if, as suggested by some scholars, Vināyakapāla is to be equated with Herambapāla on the ground that the words *Heramba* and *Vināyaka* are synonymous, may it not be urged with equal cogency that the person in question must be distinguished from Kārttikeya? Is it not permissible to hold that just as the divine Kārttikeya is a brother of the divine Vināyaka, the king Kārttikeya, that is, Mahīpāla, is a brother of, and not identical with, king Vināyakapāla? The point certainly requires further investigation.

As to the rival theory, *viz.*, the identity of Mahīpāla with Bhoja II (and *not* Vināyaka) preferred by Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray, there is much that can be urged in support of this view. This may satisfactorily explain the non-occurrence of the name "Mahīpāla" in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Plate. While epigraphic evidence clearly distinguishes Vināyaka from Bhoja there is no such evidence to distinguish

[1] Cf, *Gurjara-Pratīhāras*, 62.

[2] P. 361 n.; Jīvānanda Vidyāsagara's ed. pp. 4, 173: *Ādiṣṭo'smi ......Lakṣmīsvayaṁvarapraṇayinā Śrī Mahīpāladevena...... Tasya kṣatrapasūterbhramatu jagadidaṁ Kārttikeyasya kīrtiḥ pāre kṣīrākhyasindhorapi kaviyaśasā sārdhamayresarcṇa.*

Mahīpāla from the same prince. Records mentioning the name Mahīpāla omit the name Bhoja and the inscription that refers to Bhoja II omits Mahīpāla. The omission of Bhoja II's name in the Asnī record has been sought to be explained by a recent writer[1] "either by the extreme shortness of Bhoja's reign, or by the assumption that there was a war of succession and at first the victorious claimant did not think it prudent to recall on stone the existence of one whom he had overthrown. But when with the lapse of time his memory had faded away, he felt no scruples in mentioning the name of his rival in the genealogical list." Both the alternative theories—the shortness of Bhoja II's reign and a war of succession—lack proof. If Bhoja's name is omitted in the Asnī record because of the shortness of his rule, why was it mentioned so prominently in the Asiatic Society's Plate? Not only does the socalled vanquished rival figure in the last mentioned record but he is referred to in a way which leaves no room for doubt that Vināyaka had almost the same regard for his father Mahendrapāladeva.[2]

In this connection attention may be invited to an extract from Mas'ūdi noted by Mr. Hodivala in his *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*.[3] The extract in question is usually translated thus :—

"The king of Kanauj...is *Bauūra*. This is a *title* common to all kings of Kanauj."[4]

In commenting on this passage Mr. Hodivala observes that the right reading seems to be not Bauūra but Bozah, Bozoh or Bodzah i.e., Bhoja. Mas'ūdi, it may be remembered, visited India in the years c. 300-04 A.H. i.e. A.D. 912-16.[4] If the reading suggested by Mr. Hodivala turns

[1] Dr. R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 255.

[2] Cf. the passage *tayoḥ pādānudhyātaḥ* etc.

[3] P. 25.

[4] *JRAS*, 1909, 271 ; *Gurjara Pratīhāras*, p. 64 ; *DHNI*, i, 578 nl.

out to be correct, the identification of Mahīpāla who is known to have ruled from 914 to 917 with Bhoja II cannot be dismissed as altogether implausible. Bhoja II was a Parama-Vaiṣṇava and a son of Queen Dehanāgā. The question of his identity will be finally settled when the name of Mahīpāla's mother is revealed to us and we have fuller details about the religious proclivities of that king. The epithet *Śrīnidhi* applied to Bhojadeva in the Bilhari Inscription[1] recalls the eulogy of Śrī Mahīpāla in the *Caṇḍa-Kauśika*, "*samarasāgarāntarbhramad-bhujadaṇḍa-mandarākṛṣṭa-Lakṣmī-svayamvarapraṇayī*".[2]

[1] *Ep. Ind.* I. 256.
[2] Jīvānanda's ed. p. 4.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE CHAIN OF JUSTICE

Indian rulers and statesmen set much store on the speedy administration of justice. "The king," says the author of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, "should never cause his petitioners to wait at the door, for when a king makes himself inaccessible to his people and entrusts his work to his immediate officers he may be sure to engender confusion in business, and to cause thereby public disaffection."[1] One of the most interesting expedients adopted by an Indian ruler for affording easy access to complainants was the famous golden bell-pull provided by Jahāngīr.[2] The emperor himself describes the ingenious device for satisfying importunate supplicants as follows :—

"After my accession, the first order that I gave was for the fastening up of the Chain of Justice, so that if those engaged in the administration of justice should delay or practise hypocrisy in the matter of those seeking justice, the oppressed might come to this chain and shake it so that its noise might attract attention. Its fashion was this: I ordered them to make a chain of pure gold, 30 *gaz* in length and containing 60 bells. Its weight was four Indian maunds, equal to 42 'Irāqī maunds. One end of it they made fast to the battlements of the Shāh Burj of the fort at Agra and the other to a stone post fixed on the bank of the river" i.e. the Jumna.[3]

It is well known that Muḥammad Shāh in 1721 revived

[1] *Arthaśāstra*, Book I, Chapter xix (trans. by Dr. Shama Sastry).

[2] Elphinstone, *The History of India*, p. 539; Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 375.

[3] Rogers and Beveridge, *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Vol. I. p. 7.

the curious expedient of his famous ancestor[1] and "ordered that a bell should be made fast to a long chain, and the chain hung down on the outside of the Octagon tower that looked towards the water side, to put it in the power of any one who should think himself oppressed, and could not find admittance at the gate of the castle, to repair to the chain and to ring the bell."

Du Jarric says that in providing the chain of justice Jahāngīr was following the idea of an old king of Persia.[2] Elphinstone, however, refers to Jahāngīr's measure as an "invention"[3] apparently of that emperor himself. But we have earlier instances of the adoption of similar expedients by preceding rulers of India including lands in the Far South. Ibn Batuta, for example, refers to an analogous device adopted by Iltutmish. We are told that the king "made an order that any man who suffered from injustice should wear a coloured dress (in the place of the white clothes that were in ordinary use). But he was not satisfied with this plan. So he placed at the door of his palace two marble lions upon two pedestals which were there. These lions had an iron chain round their necks from which hung a great bell. The victim of injustice came at night and rung the bell, and when the Sultan heard it, he immediately inquired into the case and gave satisfaction to the complainant."[4]

In still earlier times we hear of a Tamil of noble descent named Eḷāra, hailing from the Cola country, who made himself master of the kingdom of Ceylon in the second century B.C., and adopted a plan not unlike that of Iltutmish, Jahāngīr and Muḥammad Shāh.[5] "At the head

[1] *Seir Mutaqherin*, Vol. I. p. 230.

[2] Rogers and Beveridge, *Tūzuk*, Vol. I. 7 n

[3] Elphinstone, *The History of India*, p. 539.

[4] Elliot, *The History of India*, Vol. III. p. 591.

[5] Geiger, *The Mahāvaṁśa*, p. 143.

of his bed he had a bell hung up with a long rope so that those who desired a judgment at law might ring it." The king, we are told, had only one son and one daughter. When once the son of the ruler was going in a car to the Tissa-tank, he killed unintentionally a young calf lying on the road with the mother cow, by driving the wheel over its neck. The cow came and dragged at the bell in bitterness of heart; and the king caused his son's head to be severed from his body with that same wheel.

"A snake had devoured the young of a bird upon a palm-tree. The hen-bird, mother of the young one, came and rang the bell. The king caused the snake to be brought to him, and when its body had been cut open and the young bird taken out of it he caused it to be hung up upon the tree."

The cases actually cited in the *Mahāvaṁsa* belong to the domain of folklore. But they prove that the Chain of Justice was no Mughul or Persian invention but had a long history in India itself dating back to the period of Cola rule in the South. Incidentally, the story of the Chain of Justice affords a proof of the survival of old institutions in this country and demonstrates that the early Sultanate of Delhi, as well as the Mughul polity that eventually took its place, was not impervious to the influence of its Hindu environment.

PART IV

Epic and Geographical Studies (in Bengali)

PART IV

Epic and Geographical Studies (in Bengali)

CHAPTER XXVIII

মহাভারত ও বুদ্ধচরিত

ভারতবর্ষের যে কয়েকজন পুরুষশ্রেষ্ঠ প্রাচীন এবং আধুনিক ধর্ম্ম-সম্প্রদায়ের উপাস্য দেবতারূপে পূজিত হইয়াছেন বা হইতেছেন তন্মধ্যে রঘুকুলভূষণ শ্রীরামচন্দ্র, চন্দ্রবংশোদ্ভব বাসুদেবার্জ্জুন এবং শাক্যকুল-চূড়ামণি গৌতম-বুদ্ধই প্রধান। ইঁহাদের জীবনের ঘটনাবলীকে কেন্দ্র করিয়াই প্রাচীন ভারতের সর্ব্বশ্রেষ্ঠ মহাকাব্যগুলি গড়িয়া উঠিয়াছে। রামচরিত্র-মাহাত্ম্যই মহর্ষি বাল্মীকি-বিরচিত রামায়ণ ও কবিকুলশ্রেষ্ঠ কালিদাস-প্রণীত রঘুবংশের প্রধান প্রতিপাদ্য বিষয়। মহর্ষি কৃষ্ণদ্বৈপায়ন ও মহাকবি ভারবি বাসুদেবার্জ্জুনের বিচিত্র চরিত-কথা অবলম্বন করিয়াই মহাভারত ও কিরাতার্জ্জুনীয় গ্রন্থ রচনা করিয়াছেন। সিদ্ধার্থ-গৌতমের অপূর্ব্ব জীবন-কাহিনীই বৌদ্ধ পণ্ডিত অশ্বঘোষকে তাঁহার অমর গ্রন্থ বুদ্ধচরিত লিখিতে অনুপ্রাণিত করিয়াছিল। উল্লিখিত মহাকাব্যগুলি স্বতন্ত্রভাবে গড়িয়া উঠে নাই। উহাদের মধ্যে প্রাচীনতম কাব্যগুলির প্রভাব অপেক্ষাকৃত আধুনিক গ্রন্থগুলির উপর স্পষ্ট বিদ্যমান দেখিতে পাওয়া যায়। রামায়ণ ও মহাভারতের পরস্পর সম্বন্ধ স্থানান্তরে আলোচনা করিয়াছি, বুদ্ধচরিতে মহাভারত আখ্যানের প্রভাব প্রদর্শন করা বর্ত্তমান প্রবন্ধের আলোচ্য বিষয়।

মহাভারতের প্রভাব ভারতবর্ষের সর্ব্বত্র দৃষ্ট হয়। কাশীদাস প্রভৃতি বঙ্গ-কবিগণের অনুগ্রহে ভারতোক্ত ঘটনাবলী বঙ্গের ঘরে ঘরে সুপরিচিত। কিন্তু এক সময়ে সুদূর গন্ধারের বৌদ্ধ নরপতিগণের সভাসদ্‌গণও যে ইহার চর্চ্চা করিতেন তাহা বুদ্ধচরিত-পাঠে স্পষ্টই প্রতীতি হয়। পঞ্জাবের পশ্চিমোত্তরে সিন্ধু নদের উভয় পার্শ্বে অবস্থিত ভূখণ্ডই প্রাচীন কালে গন্ধার বলিয়া অভিহিত হইত। খৃষ্টীয় প্রথম শতাব্দে এই দেশ মধ্য-এশিয়াবাসী কুষাণগণ কর্ত্তৃক বিজিত হয়। কুষাণবংশীয় সর্ব্বশ্রেষ্ঠ নরপতি রাজাধিরাজ

দেবপুত্র কনিষ্ক গন্ধারদেশান্তর্গত পুরুষপুর (বর্ত্তমান পেশাওয়ার) নগরে শাসনদণ্ড পরিচালন করিতেন। তিনি বৌদ্ধধর্ম্মাবলম্বী ছিলেন এবং বৌদ্ধ পণ্ডিত অশ্বঘোষ তাঁহার রাজসভা অলঙ্কৃত করিতেন বলিয়া বহু গ্রন্থে লিখিত আছে। অশ্বঘোষই বুদ্ধচরিত মহাকাব্যের রচয়িতা। বৌদ্ধ নরপতির বৌদ্ধ সভাসদ্‌রচিত বুদ্ধচরিতে মহাভারতের প্রভাব অনেকের নিকটই বিস্ময়কর বলিয়া বোধ হইবে। কিন্তু অশ্বঘোষ বাস্তবিকই যে মহাভারতের, বিশেষতঃ আদিপর্ব্বের, ঘটনাবলীর সহিত সুপরিচিত ছিলেন, এ বিষয়ে সন্দেহের লেশমাত্র কারণ নাই।

ইতিহাস-পাঠকমাত্রই অবগত আছেন যে, কুমার সিদ্ধার্থের মন ঐহিক সুখের প্রতি বীতরাগ ছিল ; পিতা শুদ্ধোধন বিলাসব্যসনে বীতশ্রদ্ধ পুত্রের মন "কামজ সুখের" প্রতি আকৃষ্ট করিবার জন্য প্রভূত চেষ্টা করিয়াছিলেন। এই চেষ্টায় তাঁহার প্রধান সহায় ছিল পুরোহিত-পুত্র উদায়ী। উদায়ী-প্রমুখ শুদ্ধোদন-নিয়োজিত অমাত্যবর্গ নানাপ্রকারে কুমারের মন ভুলাইতে প্রয়াস পাইয়াছিলেন। তাঁহারা পূর্ব্ববর্ত্তী রাজা ও মুনিগণের বিবরণ উল্লেখ করিয়া বলিতেন যে, "কুমার, এতাদৃশ বিখ্যাত নরবরগণও যখন বিষয়সুখে অনাসক্ত ছিলেন না, তখন আপনিই বা কেন সংসার-ত্যাগী হইয়া পিতার মনে সন্তাপ জন্মাইতেছেন ?" কুমারকে পিতার আজ্ঞাকারী এবং তাঁহার মন বিলাসব্যসনে আসক্ত করিবার নিমিত্ত যে সকল দৃষ্টান্ত বুদ্ধচরিতে প্রদর্শিত হইয়াছে, তাহার অনেকগুলি মহাভারতের আদিপর্ব্বে দেখিতে পাওয়া যায়।—

কালীং চৈব পুরা কন্যাং জলপ্রভবসংভবাম্।
জগাম যমুনাতীরে জাতরাগঃ পরাশরঃ ॥
স্ত্রীসংসর্গং বিনাশান্তং পাংডুর্জ্ঞাত্বাপি কৌরবঃ।
মাদ্রীরূপ-গুণাক্ষিপ্তঃ সিষেবে কামজং সুখম্ ॥
উতথ্যস্য চ ভার্য্যায়াং মমতায়াং মহাতপাঃ।
মারুত্যাং জনয়ামাস ভরদ্বাজং বৃহস্পতিঃ ॥

মহাকবি অশ্বঘোষ কেবল আদিপর্ব্ব-বর্ণিত রাজা ও ঋষিগণের বিলাসলীলার সহিত যে শুধু পরিচিত ছিলেন তাহা নহে, নিম্নলিখিত শ্লোকগুলিতে তিনি ভীষ্মের অসাধারণ পিতৃভক্তি ও রণপাণ্ডিত্য, পাণ্ডবগণের শৌর্য্যবীর্য্য ও

শূরবংশধর বাসুদেব-কৃষ্ণের অনন্যসাধারণ কার্য্যাবলীর পরিচয় প্রদান করিয়াছেন।

ভীষ্মেণ গংগোদরসংভবেন
রামেণ রামেণ চ ভার্গবেণ
শ্রুত্বা কৃতং কর্ম্ম পিতুঃ প্রিয়ার্থং
পিতুস্ত্বমপ্যর্হসি কর্ত্তুমিষ্টম্॥
উগ্রায়ুধশ্চোগ্রধৃতায়ুধোঽপি
যেষাং কৃতে মৃত্যুমবাপ ভীষ্মাৎ॥ [১]
সপাংডবং পাংডবতুল্যবীর্য্যঃ
শৈলোত্তমং শৈলসমানবর্ষ্ম
মৌলিধরঃ সিংহপতির্নৃসিংহ-
শ্চলৎসটঃ সিংহ ইবারুরোহ॥
আচার্য্যকং যোগবিধৌ দ্বিজানাং
অপ্রাপ্তমন্যৈর্জনকো জগাম
খ্যাতানি কর্ম্মাণি চ যানি শৌরেঃ
শূরাদয়স্তেষ্ববলা বভূবুঃ॥

উল্লিখিত শ্লোকগুলি পাঠ করিলে স্পষ্টই প্রতীতি হয় যে, বুদ্ধচরিত-রচয়িতা অশ্বঘোষের পাণ্ডিত্য শুধু বৌদ্ধ শাস্ত্রেই সীমাবদ্ধ ছিল না, তিনি অবৌদ্ধ-প্রণীত মহাভারত গ্রন্থও যত্নসহকারে অধ্যয়ন করিয়াছিলেন। প্রাচীন ভারতবর্ষীয় মনীষিগণ যে ধর্ম্মনির্ব্বিশেষে বিদ্যাচর্চ্চা করিতেন ইহা তাহার এক প্রকৃষ্ট উদাহরণ।

[১] এই আখ্যানটী খিল-হরিবংশপর্ব্বের বিংশোঽধ্যায়ে দেখিতে পাওয়া যায়। সুতরাং হরিবংশপর্ব্বও সম্ভবতঃ বুদ্ধচরিতের পূর্ব্ববর্ত্তী।

CHAPTER XXIX

মহাভারত ও মধ্যমব্যায়োগ

ত্রিবান্দ্রাম-নিবাসী বিশ্ববিশ্রুত পণ্ডিত মহামহোপাধ্যায় গণপতি শাস্ত্রীর উদ্যম ও অনুসন্ধিৎসার ফলে যে কয়খানি বিলুপ্তপ্রায় প্রাচীন সংস্কৃত নাট্যগ্রন্থ সম্প্রতি আবিষ্কৃত ও প্রকাশিত হইয়াছে মধ্যমব্যায়োগ তাহাদের অন্যতম। এই গ্রন্থখানি এবং ইহার সংশ্লিষ্ট অন্যান্য নাটক মহাকবি ভাস-প্রণীত কি না এবং এগুলি কোন্ শতাব্দীতে রচিত হইয়াছে, এই সকল জটিল প্রশ্নের মীমাংসা বর্ত্তমান প্রবন্ধের বিষয়ীভূত নহে। ভারতবর্ষ ও শ্বেতবর্ষের মনীষিগণ ঐ সকল তথ্য নিরূপণের জন্য বহু পুস্তক ও প্রবন্ধ রচনা করিয়া যশস্বী হইয়াছেন। কিন্তু নাটকগুলির আখ্যান-ভাগ-সম্বন্ধে পর্য্যাপ্ত আলোচনা হইয়াছে বলিয়া মনে হয় না। অনেকগুলি গল্প রামায়ণ ও মহাভারতের অক্ষয় ভাণ্ডার হইতে গৃহীত। কিন্তু প্রচলিত রামায়ণ ও ভারতী-কথার সহিত এই সকল আখ্যানের বিস্তর প্রভেদ পরিদৃষ্ট হয়। এই পার্থক্য বিশেষভাবে লক্ষ্য করিবার যোগ্য, কারণ, উহা দ্বারা মহর্ষি বাল্মীকি ও কৃষ্ণদ্বৈপায়ন-ব্যাসপ্রোক্ত মহাগ্রন্থদ্বয়ের উপচয় ও পরিণতির ইতিহাস অনেকখানি সুস্পষ্ট হইবে বলিয়া আশা করা যায়। এই সম্বন্ধে বিস্তৃত আলোচনা করিতে গেলে একখানি বৃহৎ গ্রন্থ লিখিতে হয়। যাঁহারা প্রাচীন বৈয়াসকী সংহিতার পরিবর্ত্তন, পরিবর্দ্ধন ও ক্রমবিকাশের ইতিহাস-সঙ্কলনে যত্নবান্, তাঁহারা শাস্ত্রী-প্রকাশিত মধ্যমব্যায়োগ-নামধেয় নাটকখানি হইতে কোন সাহায্য প্রাপ্ত হইতে পারেন কি না সেই বিষয়ে দুই একটি কথা বলাই এই ক্ষুদ্র প্রবন্ধের উদ্দেশ্য।

মধ্যমপাণ্ডব ভীমসেন এবং তৎপুত্র হিড়িম্বা-তনয় রাক্ষসবীর ঘটোৎকচের কাহিনী অবলম্বনে মধ্যমব্যায়োগ লিখিত। একদা ঘটোৎকচ মাতার আহারের নিমিত্ত তাঁহারই আজ্ঞায় মনুষ্যশিকারের অন্বেষণ করিতে করিতে সুতত্রয়কলত্র-পরিবৃত ব্রাহ্মণ কেশবদাসের পশ্চাদ্ধাবন করিয়াছিলেন। তিনি কেশবদাসের মধ্যম পুত্রকে বলপূর্ব্বক গ্রহণ করিবার জন্য উদ্যত হইলে তাঁহার আহ্বানধ্বনি শুনিয়া অদূরে ব্যায়ামনিরত ভীমসেন সেখানে উপস্থিত হইলেন এবং স্ত্রীপুত্রসহ দ্বিজসত্তম কেশবদাসকে মোচন করিবার জন্য হিড়িম্বা-নন্দনকে অনুজ্ঞা

করিলেন। ঘটোৎকচ অস্বীকৃত হইলে পিতাপুত্রে যুদ্ধ হয়, পরে ব্রাহ্মণ-কুমারের পরিবর্ত্তে স্বয়ং ভীমসেন হিড়িম্বা-সকাশে গমন করিতে স্বীকৃত হইলেন। অনন্তর হিড়িম্বা-তনয় মাতার নিকট বৃকোদরের প্রকৃত পরিচয় পাইলে পিতাপুত্রে মিলন হয়। এই গল্পটির সহিত প্রচলিত মহাভারতের আখ্যানভাগের সম্বন্ধ বিচার করিতে হইলে প্রচলিত মহাভারত ব্যতীত অপর কোনও ভারত-সংহিতা ছিল কি না সে সম্বন্ধে সংক্ষিপ্ত আলোচনা কর্ত্তব্য।

যে মহাকাব্য বর্ত্তমান সময়ে মহর্ষি কৃষ্ণদ্বৈপায়ন-ব্যাস-প্রণীত মহাভারত বলিয়া প্রচলিত, উহা যে লক্ষ-শ্লোকাত্মক তাহা সকলেই অবগত আছেন।

ইদং শতসহস্রন্তু লোকানাং পুণ্যকর্ম্মণাম্।
উপাখ্যানৈঃ সহ জ্ঞেয়মাদ্যং ভারতমুত্তমম্। ১।১।১০১

২১৪ গুপ্তাব্দে (খৃঃ ৫৩৩-৩৪) উৎকীর্ণ মহারাজ সর্ব্বনাথের খোহ্ লিপিতেও পরমর্ষি-পরাশর-সুত বেদব্যাস-রচিত মহাভারত গ্রন্থ শতসাহস্রী সংহিতা বলিয়া নির্ণীত হইয়াছে। কিন্তু অতি পূর্ব্বকালে এই মহাগ্রন্থের আয়তন যে অপেক্ষাকৃত ক্ষুদ্র ছিল ইহার অনেক প্রমাণ পাওয়া যায়।

আদিম মহাভারত অশ্বঘোষ, পতঞ্জলি, এমন কি পাণিনি ও আশ্বলায়নেরও পূর্ব্ববর্ত্তী। কিন্তু বর্ত্তমান গ্রন্থে এমন অনেক কথা আছে যাহা পাণিনির পূর্ব্ববর্ত্তী বলিয়া কোন ক্রমেই মনে করা যাইতে পারে না। প্রচলিত মহাভারতের আদি ও স্বর্গারোহণপর্ব্বে হরিবংশ ও অষ্টাদশ পুরাণের উল্লেখ দৃষ্ট হয়ঃ—

হরিবংশস্ততঃ পর্ব্ব পুরাণং খিলসংজ্ঞিতম্।
বিষ্ণুপর্ব্ব শিশোশ্চর্য্যা বিষ্ণোঃ কংসবধস্তথা।
ভবিষ্যং পর্ব্ব চাপ্যুক্তং খিলেষ্বেবাদ্ভুতং মহৎ। ১।২।৮২-৮৩

* * * *

হরিবংশ-সমাপ্তৌ তু সহস্রং ভোজয়েদ্দ্বিজান্। ১৮।৬।৭১

* * * *

অষ্টাদশ-পুরাণানাং শ্রবণাদ্ যৎ ফলং ভবেৎ
তৎফলং সমবাপ্নোতি বৈষ্ণবো নাত্র সংশয়ঃ। ১৮।৬।৯৭

বনপর্ব্বে মার্কণ্ডেয়-সমস্যা-পর্ব্বাধ্যায়ে মাৎস্যকপুরাণ ও বায়ুপুরাণের নামোল্লেখ

আছে এবং বায়ুপুরাণে যে অতীত এবং অনাগত উভয়বিধ ঘটনা লিখিত আছে উহার স্পষ্ট উল্লেখ আছে ঃ—

সর্ব্বাঃ প্রজাঃ মনুঃ সাক্ষাদ্ যথাবন্তরতর্ষভ।
ইত্যেতন্মাৎস্যকং নাম পুরাণং পরিকীর্ত্তিতম্। ৩।১৮৭।৫৭

*   *   *   *

এতত্তে সর্ব্বমাখ্যাতমতীতানাগতং ময়া।
বায়ুপ্রোক্তমনুস্মৃত্য পুরাণমৃষিসংস্তুতম্। ৩।১৯১।১৬

পাণিনি ও আশ্বলায়নের পূর্ব্বে যে হরিবংশ এবং অতীত ও অনাগত রাজগণের কাহিনীপূর্ণ বায়ু এবং মৎস্যপ্রমুখ অষ্টাদশ পুরাণ রচিত হইয়াছিল—ইহা বোধ হয় কেহই বলিবেন না। অবশ্য প্রাচীন বৈদিক সাহিত্যে পুরাণের উল্লেখ নাই এমন কথা বলা যায় না, কিন্তু ঐ পুরাণ কখনই আন্ধ্র, আভীর, গুপ্ত প্রভৃতি ভবিষ্য-রাজবংশের কাহিনীসম্বলিত বর্ত্তমান মহাপুরাণের সহিত অভিন্ন হইতে পারে না। যে হরিবংশে দীনার নামক রোমক মুদ্রার উল্লেখ আছে [১] উহা পাণিনির পূর্ব্বযুগের রচনা হইতে পারে না। বর্ত্তমান মহাভারতে কিন্তু আন্ধ্র, শক, আভীর, রোমক এমন কি হূণদিগেরও উল্লেখ দৃষ্ট হয়। ঃ—

আন্ধ্রাঃ শকাঃ পুলিন্দাশ্চ যবনাশ্চ নরাধিপাঃ।
কাম্বোজা বাহ্লিকাঃ শূরাস্তথাভীরাঃ নরোত্তমাঃ।
ন তদা ব্রাহ্মণঃ কশ্চিৎ স্বধর্ম্মমুপজীবতি। ৩।১৮৮।৩৫-৩৬

*   *   *   *

ঔষ্ণীকানন্তবাসাংশ্চ রোমকান্ পুরুষাদকান্। ২।৫১।১৭

*   *   *   *

চীনান্ শকান্ তথা চোড্রান্ বর্ব্বরান্ বনবাসিনঃ।
বার্ষ্ণেয়ান্ হারহূণাংশ্চ কৃষ্ণান্ হৈমবতাংস্তথা। ২।৫১।২৪

যবনেরা যে মহারাজ দত্তামিত্রের (Demetrios) নেতৃত্বে সিন্ধুসৌবীরে রাজ্য স্থাপন করিয়াছিল, তাহার আভাস আদিপর্ব্বে পাওয়া যায় ঃ—

[১] প্রেষিতং দেবরাজেন দিব্যাভরণমম্বরম্।
আয়ুধানাং চ সর্ব্বেষাং ভাগা দীনারকা দশ॥

হরিবংশ—বিষ্ণুপর্ব্ব ৫৫, ৫০

ন শশাক বশেকর্ত্তুং যং পাণ্ডুরপি বীর্য্যবান্।
সোঽর্জ্জুনেন বশংনীতো রাজাসীদ্ যবনাধিপঃ॥
অতীব বলসম্পন্নঃ সদা মানী কুরূন্ প্রতি।
বিপুলো নাম সৌবীরঃ শস্তঃ পার্থেন ধীমতা॥
দত্তামিত্র ইতি খ্যাতং সংগ্রামে কৃতনিশ্চয়ম্।
সুমিত্রং নাম সৌবীরমর্জ্জুনোঽদময়চ্ছরৈঃ॥ ১।১৩৯।২১-২৩

এই দত্তামিত্রই ক্রমদীশ্বর কর্ত্তৃক উল্লিখিত দত্তামিত্রী নাম্নী সৌবীরনগরীর প্রতিষ্ঠাতা। অর্জ্জুনের সহিত দত্তামিত্রের সংগ্রাম অনেকের নিকট বিস্ময়কর বলিয়া মনে হইবে, কিন্তু অনেক মহাকবিই এইরূপ দোষে (anachronism) দোষী। মহাকবি কালিদাস কি দিগ্বিজয়ী রঘুর নিকট বঙ্খু বা বক্ষু (Oxus) তীরস্থিত হূণগণের পরাভবের উল্লেখ করেন নাই?

মহাভারতের সমসাময়িক কালে হূণগণ যে চীনসীমান্তে আবদ্ধ ছিল না, পরন্তু পারসিকদিগের সংস্পর্শে আসিয়াছিল, নিম্নলিখিত শ্লোকে তাহা স্পষ্টই প্রতীয়মান হয়ঃ—

যবনাশ্চীনকম্বোজা দারুণা ম্লেচ্ছজাতয়ঃ।
সকৃদ্গ্রহাঃ কুলোত্থাশ্চ হূণাঃ পারসিকৈঃ সহ। ৬।৯।৬৫-৬৬

হূণ-পারসিকসংযোগ আশ্বলায়ন বা পাণিনির পূর্ব্বে ঘটিয়াছিল ইহার কোন প্রমাণ নাই। ইতিহাস-পাঠে জানা যায় যে এই সংযোগের কাল খৃষ্টীয় ৫ম শতাব্দ। সুতরাং বর্ত্তমান মহাভারত যে প্রাক্-পাণিনীয় ভারত নহে এবং ইহার অনেক পরিবর্ত্তন ঘটিয়াছে ইহা অস্বীকার করিবার উপায় নাই। বস্তুতঃ মহাভারতে উল্লিখিত আছে যে পূর্ব্বে উহা চতুর্ব্বিংশতি-সহস্র-শ্লোকাত্মক ছিল, অর্থাৎ উহার আয়তন বর্ত্তমান বিরাট-গ্রন্থের চতুর্থাংশেরও কম ছিল—

চতুর্ব্বিংশতিসাহস্রীং চক্রে ভারত-সংহিতাম্।
উপাখ্যানৈর্বিনা তাবদ্ ভারতং প্রোচ্যতে বুধৈঃ। ১।১।১০২

চতুর্ব্বিংশতি সহস্র শ্লোকাত্মিকা সংহিতার পূর্ব্বে উহা অপেক্ষাও সংক্ষিপ্ত কোন ভারতকাব্য ছিল কি না সে কথা বলা সহজ নহে। য়ুরোপীয় পণ্ডিতেরা মনে করেন যে, তাহার পূর্ব্বে ৮৮০০ শ্লোকের একখানি মহাভারত ছিল, কিন্তু এই ধারণা নিতান্তই ভিত্তিহীন। ৮৮০০ এই সংখ্যা দ্বারা বর্ত্তমান গ্রন্থের কূটশ্লোকের সংখ্যা নির্দ্দেশ করা হইয়াছে।

গ্রন্থগ্রন্থিং তদা চক্রে মুনির্গূঢ়ং কুতূহলাৎ।
যস্মিন্ প্রতিজ্ঞয়া প্রাহ মুনির্দ্বৈপায়নস্ত্বিদম্।
অষ্টৌ শ্লোকসহস্রাণি অষ্টৌ শ্লোকশতানি চ।
অহং বেদ্মি শুকো বেত্তি সঞ্জয়ো বেত্তি বা ন বা।
তং শ্লোককূটমদ্যাপি গ্রথিতং সুদৃঢ়ং মুনে।
ভেত্তুং ন শক্যতেঽর্থস্য গূঢ়ত্বাৎ প্রশ্রিতস্য চ। ১।১।৮০-৮২

৮৮০০ শ্লোকের যে একখানি পূর্ণাবয়ব গ্রন্থ ছিল উহা উল্লিখিত দ্বারা সমর্থিত হয় না ; কিন্তু একথাও স্বীকার্য্য যে চতুর্ব্বিংশতি-সাহস্রী সংহিতা আদিম বৈয়াসকী সংহিতার সহিত অভিন্ন নাও হইতে পারে। যদি উহাদের অভিন্নতা মানিয়াও লওয়া যায়, তাহা হইলেও বর্ত্তমান মহাভারতের ত্রি-চতুর্থাংশেরও অধিক পরবর্ত্তী কালে রচিত হইয়া উহার অন্তর্নিবিষ্ট হইয়াছে সন্দেহ নাই। মহাভারতের অনেক অংশই যে প্রক্ষিপ্ত সে কথা বঙ্কিমচন্দ্র, রামকৃষ্ণ ভাণ্ডারকর, উদ্গীকর প্রভৃতি এদেশীয় মনীষিগণও স্বীকার করিয়াছেন। কিন্তু নূতন জিনিষ প্রক্ষিপ্ত করার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে আখ্যানভাগের আর কোন পরিবর্ত্তন কি হয় নাই ? প্রাচীন আখ্যায়িকাগুলি কি সকলই অব্যাহত আছে ? দ্রোণপর্ব্বের কতিপয় শ্লোকপাঠে কিন্তু মনে হয় যে, প্রাচীন মহাভারতে এমন অনেক আখ্যান ছিল অথবা মহাভারতকার এমন অনেক আখ্যানের বিষয় অবগত ছিলেন যাহার কেবল আভাসমাত্র প্রচলিত গ্রন্থে পাওয়া যায়, কিন্তু মূল আখ্যান বিলুপ্ত হইয়াছে। এই আখ্যানগুলি সর্ব্বপ্রাচীন বৈয়াসকী সংহিতার অন্তর্গত ছিল কি না তাহা এখন বিচার্য্য নহে। কিন্তু প্রচলিত মহাভারত-সঙ্কলনের পূর্ব্বে যে এগুলির অস্তিত্ব ছিল তাহা অস্বীকার করিবার উপায় নাই।

দ্রোণপর্ব্বের ঘটোৎকচ-বধ পর্ব্বাধ্যায়ে লিখিত আছে যে, কুরুক্ষেত্রের মহাযুদ্ধে মহাবীর কর্ণ ইন্দ্রদেব-প্রদত্ত একপুরুষঘাতিনী শক্তি দ্বারা ভীম-তনয় ঘটোৎকচের প্রাণ-সংহার করিলে পাণ্ডবগণকে শোককাতর দেখিয়া অসাধারণ ধীশক্তিসম্পন্ন বাসুদেব বলিয়াছিলেন, "যদি সূতপুত্র বাসবদত্ত শক্তি দ্বারা ঘটোৎকচকে নিহত না করিত তাহা হইলে আমাকেই বৃকোদরপুত্রকে বধ করিতে হইত। আমি কেবল তোমাদের মঙ্গলসাধনের নিমিত্তই পূর্ব্বে উহার

জীবন নাশ করি নাই। এই নিশাচর ব্রাহ্মণবিদ্বেষী, যজ্ঞনাশক, ধর্ম্মলোপ্তা ও পাপাত্মা, এই নিমিত্ত কৌশলক্রমে নিপাতিত হইল।”

যদি হ্যেনং নাহনিষ্যৎ কর্ণঃ শক্ত্যা মহামৃধে
ময়া বধ্যোঽভবিষ্যৎ স ভৈমসেনির্ঘটোৎকচঃ।
ময়া ন নিহতঃ পূর্ব্বমেব যুষ্মৎ-প্রিয়েপ্সয়া,
এষ হি ব্রাহ্মণদ্বেষী যজ্ঞদ্বেষী চ রাক্ষসঃ
ধর্ম্মস্য লোপ্তা পাপাত্মা তস্মাদেষ নিপাতিতঃ। ৭।১৭৯।২৫-২৭

ঘটোৎকচের ব্রাহ্মণবিদ্বেষ সম্বন্ধে কোন কাহিনী বর্ত্তমান মহাভারতে দখিতে পাওয়া যায় না। কিন্তু কোন প্রাচীন ভারত-সংহিতায় উহা না থাকিলে বর্ত্তমান গ্রন্থে উপরি উদ্ধৃত শ্লোকগুলি কি নিমিত্ত স্থান পাইল এবং উহার সার্থকতাই বা কি ? শ্লোকগুলির পাঠে স্বতঃই মনে হয় যে, উহাদের বচয়িতা হিড়িম্বা-তনয়ের ব্রাহ্মণবিদ্বেষ-মূলক কোন আখ্যানের বিষয় অবগত ছিলেন। যাঁহারা মধ্যমব্যায়োগ পাঠ করিয়াছেন তাঁহাদিগকে বলিয়া দিতে হইবে না যে, এইরূপ একটী আখ্যান অবলম্বন করিয়া উক্ত নাট্যগ্রন্থ রচিত হইয়াছে। শকুন্তলোপাখ্যানের সহিত কালিদাস-প্রণীত অভিজ্ঞান-শকুন্তলের যে সম্বন্ধ, ঘটোৎকচের সেই বিলুপ্ত আখ্যানের সহিত মধ্যমব্যায়োগেরও ঠিক সেই সম্বন্ধ ছিল বলিয়া অনুমিত হয়। নাটককার অবশ্য নায়ক-চরিত্রের উৎকর্ষ-সাধনের জন্য অনেক বিষয়ে মৌলিকতা দেখাইয়াছেন। নাটকের দুষ্মন্তের শকুন্তলার প্রত্যাখ্যানের মূলে দুর্ব্বাসার অভিশাপ, নাটকের ঘটোৎকচের ব্রাহ্মণ-জন-বিত্রাসিত করার মূলে অনন্যসাধারণ মাতৃভক্তি। প্রিয়ংবদা, অনুসূয়া প্রভৃতির ন্যায় কেশবদাস, তপস্বী মধ্যম প্রভৃতি চরিত্র নাটককারের সৃষ্টি হওয়াও অসম্ভব নহে। কিন্তু মধ্যমব্যায়োগের মূল ঘটনা যে মহাভারত-কারের অবিদিত ছিল না এবং খুব সম্ভব প্রাচীন কোন ভারত-সংহিতার অন্তর্নিবিষ্ট ছিল দ্রোণপর্ব্ব হইতে উদ্ধৃত শ্লোকগুলি তাহার প্রকৃষ্ট প্রমাণ। সুতরাং ভারত-তত্ত্বানুসন্ধিৎসুদের পক্ষে গণপতি শাস্ত্রী-প্রকাশিত নাটকগুলির আলোচনার যে যথেষ্ট প্রয়োজনীয়তা আছে, তাহা অস্বীকার করিবার উপায় নাই।

CHAPTER XXX

বঙ্গ কোন্ দেশ ?

বঙ্গীয় সাহিত্য-সম্মিলনে পাঠের নিমিত্ত একটী ইতিহাসবিষয়ক প্রবন্ধ লিখিতে বসিয়া মনে হইল :বঙ্গের পুরাতত্ত্ব-সম্বন্ধে কিছু আলোচনা করিলে মন্দ হয় না। দ্রবিড়, কর্ণাট, মহারাষ্ট্র, রাজস্থান, পঞ্চনদ, পঞ্চাল, মগধ প্রভৃতি জনপদের প্রাচীন যুগের বিশদ বিবরণ দুষ্প্রাপ্য নহে, কিন্তু খাঁটী বাঙ্গালা দেশের প্রাচীন ইতিহাস আছে কি ? সম্প্রতি গৌড়-বঙ্গের ঐতিহ্য-সম্বন্ধে কয়েকখানি গ্রন্থ প্রকাশিত হইয়াছে ; কিন্তু উহাদের প্রথম অধ্যায়গুলিতে প্রধানতঃ অঙ্গ, মগধ, গন্ধার প্রভৃতি দেশেরই কীর্ত্তন করা হইয়াছে। অবশ্য গ্রন্থকারগণ বলেন যে, প্রাচীন বঙ্গ অঙ্গ-মগধাদি রাষ্ট্রের সহিত দুশ্ছেদ্য-সম্বন্ধে জড়িত। কিন্তু তাই বলিয়া মগধ-রাজবংশের ইতিহাস ও মৌর্য্য-রাষ্ট্রনীতির বিবরণ দ্বারা বঙ্গের ইতিহাসের কলেবর বৃদ্ধি করায় লাভ কি ? বর্ত্তমানে এই প্রদেশ শ্বেত-মহারাষ্ট্রের অন্তর্ভূ্ত। সেই জন্য বাঙ্গালার ইতিহাস লিখিতে বসিয়া কি প্রত্যক্ শ্বেতদ্বীপের প্রাচীন রাজবংশ ও শাসনপ্রণালীর বিস্তৃত বিবরণ প্রদান করিতে হইবে ? এবং উহাকেই "বঙ্গের ইতিহাস" এই নামে প্রখ্যাত করিতে হইবে ?

প্রকৃত পক্ষে বঙ্গের পুরাতত্ত্ব আলোচনা করিতে হইলে বঙ্গ নামে কোন্ জনপদ বিশেষভাবে সূচিত হইত তাহা বুঝা কর্ত্তব্য। শক্তিসঙ্গমতন্ত্রে লিখিত আছে—

রত্নাকরং সমারভ্য ব্রহ্মপুত্রান্তগঃ শিবে
বঙ্গদেশো ময়া প্রোক্তঃ সর্ব্বসিদ্ধিপ্রদর্শকঃ। [১]

অর্থাৎ সমুদ্র হইতে ব্রহ্মপুত্র নদ পর্য্যন্ত বিস্তৃত ভূখণ্ডই বঙ্গ বলিয়া কথিত। এই শ্লোকে বঙ্গ ব্রহ্মপুত্রের পূর্ব্বভাগে কি পশ্চিমভাগে অবস্থিত তাহা ঠিক বুঝা গেল না। বাৎস্যায়নের কামসূত্রের টীকাকার যশোধর লিখিয়াছেন,

[১] শব্দ-কল্পদ্রুমে 'বঙ্গ' শব্দ দ্রষ্টব্য।

"বঙ্গা লোহিত্যাৎ পূর্ব্বেণ"[১] অর্থাৎ বঙ্গদেশবাসীরা লোহিত্য বা ব্রহ্মপুত্র নদের পূর্ব্বতীরবাসী। বর্ত্তমান কালেও ব্রহ্মপুত্র-যমুনার পূর্ব্বকূলে অবস্থিত মৈমনসিংহ, ঢাকা, শ্রীহট্ট, ত্রিপুরা, চট্টগ্রাম প্রভৃতি অঞ্চলের অধিবাসিগণই বিশেষভাবে "বাঙ্গাল" বলিয়া অভিহিত হন। যশোধর খৃষ্টীয় ত্রয়োদশ শতাব্দীর লোক।[২] তাঁহার পূর্ব্বে ব্রহ্মপুত্রের পশ্চিমেও যে বঙ্গদেশ বিস্তৃত ছিল সে বিষয়ে অনেক প্রমাণ পাওয়া যায়। মহাভারতে ভীমের দিগ্বিজয়-প্রসঙ্গে লিখিত আছে যে, মধ্যম পাণ্ডব গিরিব্রজ, মোদাগিরি, পুণ্ড্র, কৌশিকী-কচ্ছ জয় করিয়া বঙ্গরাজকে আক্রমণ করিয়াছিলেন—"বঙ্গরাজমুপাদ্রবৎ।" পরে তাম্রলিপ্ত, কর্ব্বট, সুহ্ম এবং সাগর-তীরবর্ত্তী ম্লেচ্ছগণকে বশীভূত করিয়া লৌহিত্য-তীরে উপনীত হন। তিনি লৌহিত্য অতিক্রম করিয়া তাহার পূর্ব্বতীরবর্ত্তী ভূখণ্ডে গিয়াছিলেন ইহার কোনই প্রমাণ নাই। সুতরাং মহাভারত-রচনার যুগে বঙ্গ যে লৌহিত্যের পশ্চিমে বিস্তৃত ছিল ইহা সুনিশ্চিত। মহাকবি কালিদাসের রঘুবংশ-পাঠে মনে হয় যে, তাঁহার সময়ে বঙ্গগণ "গঙ্গাস্রোতোহন্তর"বর্ত্তী সমগ্র ভূখণ্ডই করায়ত্ত করিয়াছিল।

বঙ্গানুৎখায় তরসা নেতা নৌসাধনোদ্ধতান্।
নিচখান জয়স্তম্ভান্ গঙ্গাস্রোতোহন্তরেষু সঃ।

বঙ্গগণ বশীভূত হইবার অব্যবহিত পরে মহাবীর রঘু গজময় সেতু দ্বারা কপিশা (মেদিনীপুরান্তর্গত কাঁসাই) নদী পার হইয়া উৎকল দেশে উপনীত হইয়াছিলেন। বঙ্গদেশ কি সত্য সত্যই কোন সময়ে কপিশা পর্য্যন্ত বিস্তৃত হইয়াছিল? জৈন উপাঙ্গ প্রজ্ঞাপনা-পাঠে কিন্তু তাহাই মনে হয়। প্রজ্ঞাপনাকার স্পষ্টতঃ "তামলিপ্তি" নগরীকে বঙ্গের অন্তর্ভূত বলিয়া বর্ণনা করিয়াছেন।[৩] এই স্থলে একটী সমস্যা স্বতঃ মনে উদিত হয়। দশকুমার-চরিত গ্রন্থে মহাকবি দণ্ডী "দামলিপ্ত" সুহ্মের অন্তর্ভূত বলিয়া নির্দ্দেশ

১ *Kāmasūtra*, Published by the proprietor of the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Book Depot, p. 295.

২ Keith, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 469.

৩ *Ind. Ant.*, 1891, 375; JASB, 1908, 290.

করিয়াছেন।[১] কালিদাসের যুগে বঙ্গ কপিশা পর্য্যন্ত বিস্তৃত ছিল এই কথা যদি সত্য হয়, তবে দশকুমার-রচয়িতা সুহ্ম ও বঙ্গ পৃথক্ বলিয়া বর্ণন করিলেন কেন? ইহার উত্তর এই যে, দণ্ডীর সময়ের অবস্থা (খৃষ্টীয় সপ্তম কি অষ্টম শতাব্দী?[২]) যাহাই হউক না কেন, প্রাচীনকালে সুহ্ম ও তাম্রলিপ্ত যে অভিন্ন ছিল না মহাভারতের দিগ্বিজয়-পর্ব্বই তাহার প্রকৃষ্ট প্রমাণ। মহাভারতকার তাম্রলিপ্তকে সুহ্ম এবং বঙ্গ উভয় হইতেই স্বতন্ত্র বলিয়া নির্দ্দেশ করিয়াছেন। মহাভারতের যুগে উহাই যে প্রকৃত অবস্থা ছিল তাহা অস্বীকার করিবার কারণ নাই। কিন্তু পরবর্ত্তী কালে তাম্রলিপ্ত কখনও বঙ্গ রাজ্যের এবং কখনও সুহ্ম রাজ্যের অন্তর্নিবিষ্ট হইত, প্রজ্ঞাপনা এবং দশকুমার গ্রন্থ ইহারই সাক্ষ্য প্রদান করে। এইরূপ ঘটনা ভারতের অন্যান্য প্রদেশেও দেখিতে পাওয়া যায়। অনেকেই উত্তরাপথের তক্ষশিলা নগরীর নাম শুনিয়াছেন। জাতকের যুগে ঐ নগরী গন্ধারের রাজধানী বলিয়া পরিচিত ছিল। যবন ভূতত্ত্ববিদ্ টলেমী উহাকে উরশা রাজ্যের অন্তর্ভূর্ত বলিয়া বর্ণনা করিয়াছেন। চীন পরিব্রাজক ফাহিয়ান ও হুয়েনসাঙ্ কিন্তু তক্ষশিলাকে গন্ধার-বহির্ভূত একটী স্বতন্ত্র রাজ্য বলিয়া অভিহিত করিয়াছেন। সুদূর তমিল দেশের উরগপুরও কখনও চোল রাজ্য, কখনও পাণ্ড্য রাজ্যের অন্তর্ভূর্ত হইত। কোটিবর্ষ দামোদরপুর লিপিতে পুণ্ড্রবর্দ্ধন-ভুক্তির এবং জৈন গ্রন্থ প্রজ্ঞাপনায় রাঢ়ের অন্তর্গত বলিয়া বর্ণিত হইয়াছে।

মহাভারত, রঘুবংশ, প্রজ্ঞাপনা এবং যশোধর-কৃত জয়মঙ্গলা প্রভৃতি গ্রন্থপাঠে স্পষ্টই মনে হয় যে, "বঙ্গ" দুই অর্থে ব্যবহৃত হইত, একটী ব্যাপক, অপরটী সঙ্কীর্ণ। ব্যাপক অর্থে বঙ্গ বলিতে সময়ে সময়ে লৌহিত্যের পূর্ব্ব হইতে কপিশা পর্য্যন্ত বিস্তীর্ণ ভূখণ্ড বুঝাইত। সঙ্কীর্ণ বঙ্গ মগধ, মোদাগিরি, পুণ্ড্র, তাম্রলিপ্ত, কর্ব্বট, সুহ্ম এমন কি সাগরানূপ হইতেও পৃথক্ বলিয়া

১ ষষ্ঠোচ্ছ্বাস, মিত্রগুপ্ত-চরিতম্—JASB, 1908, 290n.
'দামলিপ্ত' ও 'তাম্রলিপ্ত' যে অভিন্ন তাহা হেমচন্দ্রের অভিধানপাঠে জানা যায়। ত্রিকাণ্ড-শেষকার 'তমালিকা' বলিয়া আর একটী নামের উল্লেখ করিয়াছেন। মনোমোহন চক্রবর্ত্তী মহাশয়ের মতে উহাই তমলুক নামে পরিবর্ত্তিত হইয়াছে।

২ Keith, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 292; অবন্তিসুন্দরী-কথা।

মহাভারতে নির্দ্দিষ্ট হইয়াছে। লক্ষ্মণ সেনের তাম্রশাসনের "বঙ্গে বিক্রমপুর ভাগে" এবং যশোধরের টীকায় "বঙ্গা লোহিত্যাৎ পূর্ব্বেণ" প্রভৃতি বাক্যে মনে হয়, বিক্রমপুর ও তৎসন্নিহিত ব্রহ্মপুত্রের পূর্ব্বকূলস্থিত ভূখণ্ডই এই সঙ্কীর্ণ বঙ্গ। উত্তরকালে বঙ্গ যে সাগরানূপ পর্য্যন্ত বিস্তৃতি লাভ করিয়াছিল, শক্তিসঙ্গমতন্ত্রই তাহার প্রকৃষ্ট প্রমাণ। কিন্তু খৃষ্টীয় ষষ্ঠ শতাব্দীতে বরাহ-মিহির-কর্ত্তৃক রচিত বৃহৎসংহিতায় কূর্ম্মবিভাগ নামক চতুর্দ্দশ অধ্যায়েও সমুদ্রকূলবর্ত্তী "সমতট" ভূমি বঙ্গ হইতে পৃথক্ ভাবে উল্লিখিত হইয়াছে।

রাজেন্দ্রচোলদেবের তিরুমলয় লিপি ও চেদিপতি কর্ণদেবের গোহরবালিপিতে "বঙ্গাল" নামক দেশের উল্লেখ দৃষ্ট হয়। এই অভিনব নামটী কোন্ সময়ে সৃষ্ট হইয়াছে তাহা বলা দুরূহ। প্রাচীন সাহিত্য, শিলালেখ বা তাম্রপট্টে "বঙ্গ" নামেরই ব্যবহার ও প্রসিদ্ধি দেখা যায়। অদ্যাবধি আবিষ্কৃত প্রমাণদৃষ্টে মনে হয় যে, দক্ষিণাপথ ও তুরুস্ক দেশাগত ভূপতিগণই মধ্যযুগে "বঙ্গাল" বা বাঙ্গালা এই অভিনব নামের প্রয়োগ আরম্ভ করেন।[১] আইন-ই-আক্‌বরি-প্রণেতা আবুলফজল লিখিয়াছেন (২, ১২০) যে বাঙ্গালা প্রাচীন বঙ্গের নামান্তর মাত্র। পুরাকালে এতদ্ অঞ্চলের রাজন্যবর্গ সমগ্র প্রদেশে দশ গজ ঊর্দ্ধ ও বিংশ গজ আয়ত এক একটী আল্ অর্থাৎ মৃত্তিকাস্তূপ প্রস্তুত করিয়া জলপ্লাবন নিবারণ করিতে চেষ্টা করিতেন। 'বঙ্গ + আল্' এই দুই শব্দের যোগে বঙ্গাল শব্দ নিষ্পন্ন হইয়াছে।

আশ্চর্য্যের বিষয় এই যে কলচুর্য্য-বংশোদ্ভব বিজ্জলের অবলূর লিপিতে বঙ্গ ও বঙ্গাল পৃথক্ বলিয়া নির্দ্দিষ্ট হইয়াছে।[২] অভিধান-চিন্তামণি-প্রণেতা জৈন হেমচন্দ্র লিখিয়াছেন—"বঙ্গাস্তু হরিকেলীয়া।" বঙ্গের সহিত অভিন্ন এই হরিকেল যে "বঙ্গাল" দেশ নহে, পরন্তু একটী স্বতন্ত্র ভূখণ্ড, ডাকার্ণব গ্রন্থে তাহার সুস্পষ্ট প্রমাণ পাওয়া যায়।[৩] অতএব আবুলফজলের গ্রন্থে বঙ্গ ও

[১] অধ্যাপক রমেশচন্দ্র মজুমদার মহাশয় কর্ণদেবের Goharwa Plate-এর প্রতি আমার দৃষ্টি আকৃষ্ট করেন। উক্ত লিপিতে কর্ণদেবের বৃদ্ধপ্রপিতামহ লক্ষ্মণরাজ "বঙ্গাল ভঙ্গ নিপুণ" বলিয়া বিশেষিত হইয়াছেন। কিন্তু লক্ষ্মণরাজও উত্তরাপথের রাজা ছিলেন না।

[২] *Ep. Ind.*, V. 257, *cf.* Elliot, iii. 295 (Afif).

[৩] Majumdār, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, p. 61.

বঙ্গাল এক দেশেরই ভিন্ন নাম বলিয়া লিখিত হইলেও পূর্ব্বে যে ঐ দুই নামে দুইটী পৃথক্ দেশ সূচিত হইত, তাহা বলিলে বোধ হয় অন্যায় হয় না। বঙ্গ বা হরিকেল হইতে স্বতন্ত্র "বঙ্গাল" বলিতে কোন্ রাজ্য বুঝাইত এ বিষয়ে নিশ্চয় করিয়া বলা যায় না—বঙ্গাল যে দক্ষিণ ও উত্তর রাঢ়া হইতে বিভিন্ন এবং চন্দ্রোপাধিবিশিষ্ট গোবিন্দ নামক নরপতির অধীন ছিল, তিরুমলয় লিপিই তাহার প্রকৃষ্ট প্রমাণ। অধ্যাপক ব্লক্ম্যান লিখিয়াছেন যে, সুলতান সুজার রাজত্বকালে রঙ্গপুর ও ব্রহ্মপুত্রের মধ্যবর্ত্তী ভূখণ্ড "বঙ্গালভূম" বলিয়া প্রসিদ্ধ ছিল; কিন্তু Blaev, Sausson Purchas-প্রমুখ লেখকগণের মানচিত্রে ও গ্রন্থে চট্টগ্রামের অভিমুখে অবস্থিত সাগরতীরবর্ত্তী ভূখণ্ডে Bengala নগরীর উল্লেখ দৃষ্ট হয়। ব্লক্ম্যান এই নগরীর অস্তিত্ব-সম্বন্ধে সন্দেহ প্রকাশ করিয়াছেন,[১] কারণ, ইবন্ বতুতা, সিজর ফ্রেডারিক, De Barros প্রভৃতি পর্য্যটক ও লেখকগণ ইহার কথা লিখিয়া যান নাই। ১৫৬১ খৃষ্টাব্দে অঙ্কিত Gastaldi-র মানচিত্রে কিন্তু Bengala-র স্পষ্ট উল্লেখ দেখা যায়। সুতরাং সাগরানূপে সত্য সত্যই এই নামে একটী নগরী ছিল এইরূপ অনুমান নিতান্ত অসঙ্গত নহে। এই Bengala নগরীর চতুষ্পার্শ্বস্থিত রাজ্যই কি চন্দ্রোপাধিক নরপতি-শাসিত বঙ্গাল দেশ? শ্রীচন্দ্রের রামপাললিপি-পাঠে কিন্তু তাহাই মনে হয়। উক্ত লিপিতে শ্রীচন্দ্রের পিতা ত্রৈলোক্যচন্দ্রকে চন্দ্রদ্বীপের নৃপতি এবং "হরিকেল-রাজ-ককুদচ্ছত্রস্মিতানাং শ্রিয়ামাধারঃ" বলিয়া বর্ণন করা হইয়াছে। চন্দ্রদ্বীপ বলিতে সমুদ্র-তীরবর্ত্তী বর্ত্তমান বরিশাল এবং তৎসন্নিহিত ভূখণ্ড বুঝাইত। ইহাই শ্রীচন্দ্রের তাম্রশাসনে চন্দ্রবংশীয় নরপতিগণের স্বরাজ্য বলিয়া নির্দ্দিষ্ট হইয়াছে। হরিকেল অর্থাৎ বঙ্গ ইহা হইতে স্বতন্ত্রভাবে উল্লিখিত হইয়াছে। চীন পরিব্রাজক ইৎসিং লিখিয়াছেন যে, হরিকেল ভারতের পূর্ব্ব সীমান্তে অবস্থিত। রাজশেখর-রচিত কর্পূরমঞ্জরী নামক গ্রন্থে পূর্ব্ব দিগঙ্গনাগণের সম্পর্কে চম্পা, রাঢ়া, কামরূপ ও হরিকেলের উল্লেখ দৃষ্ট হয়। এই সকল উক্তির সহিত লক্ষ্মণ সেন দেবের তাম্রশাসন ও যশোধরের টীকা মিলাইয়া লইলে মনে হয় যে, বিক্রমপুর ও লৌহিত্যের পূর্ব্বতীরস্থিত ভূখণ্ডই সপ্তম হইতে ত্রয়োদশ শতাব্দী পর্য্যন্ত "বঙ্গ" বা হরিকেল নামে প্রসিদ্ধ

[১] JASB, 1873, 233.

ছিল। সাগর-তীরবর্ত্তী "সাগরানূপ" বা "সমতট" যে ইহার বহির্ভূত ছিল, মহাভারত ও বৃহৎসংহিতা গ্রন্থে তাহার প্রমাণ পাওয়া যায়। "চন্দ্রদ্বীপ" ও "বঙ্গাল" এই উভয় দেশই বঙ্গ-বহির্ভূত সাগরানূপে অবস্থিত এবং চন্দ্রোপাধিক নৃপতি-শাসিত। ইহাদের ভৌগোলিক অবস্থান এবং চন্দ্রবংশের সহিত সংযোগ বিচার করিলে এই দুই দেশ যে অভিন্ন বা পরস্পর সংসৃষ্ট ইহা অনুমান করা বোধ হয় নিতান্ত অসঙ্গত হইবে না।

বিজ্জন বা বিজ্জলদেবের অংলূর-লিপি হইতে স্পষ্ট প্রতীয়মান হয় যে, শ্রীচন্দ্রদেবের বিক্রমপুর-বিজয় সত্ত্বেও খৃষ্টীয় দ্বাদশ শতাব্দীর শেষ পর্য্যন্ত বঙ্গ এবং বঙ্গাল সম্পূর্ণভাবে একীকৃত হয় নাই। "রাঢ়" ও "বরেন্দ্র"ও স্বতন্ত্রতা রক্ষা করিতেছিল। ত্রয়োদশ শতাব্দীর মুসলমান লেখকগণ "বঙ্গ" শব্দ সঙ্কীর্ণ অর্থেই ব্যবহার করিয়াছেন। তবকাৎই-নাসিরি গ্রন্থে বঙ্গ স্পষ্টতঃ যাজনগর, কামরূপ ও ত্রিহুতের ন্যায় লক্ষ্মণাবতী হইতে বিভিন্ন বলিয়া বর্ণিত হইয়াছে। কিন্তু রাল (রাঢ়) ও বরিন্দ (বরেন্দ্র) লক্ষ্মণাবতীর অন্তর্গত ছিল। ব্লক্‌ম্যান দেখাইয়াছেন যে, তুঘ্‌লুক্ শাহের রাজত্বকালেই (১৩২০ খৃঃ অব্দে) লক্ষ্মণাবতী, সপ্তগ্রাম ও সুবর্ণগ্রাম মিলিত হইয়া অখণ্ড বাঙ্গালা দেশ গঠিত হইয়াছে। জৈন প্রজ্ঞাপনায় এই মিলনের সূচনা দেখা যায়। বঙ্গপতি পালরাজগণ এবং প্রৌঢ়া রাঢ়ার অধীশ্বর সেন-নৃপতিবৃন্দ রাঢ়, গৌড়, বরেন্দ্র ও বঙ্গে একচ্ছত্র রাজ্য স্থাপন করিয়া ভাবী মিলনের পথ আরও সুগম করিয়া দিয়াছিলেন। মুসলমানগণ-কর্ত্তৃক লক্ষ্মণাবতী জয়ের ফলে এই মিলন সুদৃঢ় হইতে পারে নাই। কিন্তু তুঘলুক্ শাহ্ পুনরায় একচ্ছত্র রাজ্য প্রতিষ্ঠিত করিয়া স্থায়ী ঐক্য বিধান করেন। পরবর্ত্তী কালে বঙ্গভঙ্গের সকল চেষ্টাই ব্যর্থ হইয়াছে।

সম্রাট্ আক্‌বরের সময়ে সুবা বাঙ্গালা সুরমা-তীরবর্ত্তী শ্রীহট্ট হইতে কৌশিকী-ধৌত পূর্ণিয়া ও গঙ্গার দক্ষিণস্থিত Kankjol (কজঙ্গল) পর্য্যন্ত বিস্তৃত ছিল। মেদিনীপুর, হিজলী, চট্টগ্রাম এবং কোচবিহার তখনও এই প্রদেশের অন্তর্ভূত হয় নাই। মেদিনীপুর ও হিজলী উড়িষ্যার এবং চট্টগ্রাম আরাকান রাজ্যের অন্তর্গত ছিল। কোচবিহার সীমান্তবর্ত্তী স্বাধীন রাজ্য বলিয়া পরিগণিত হইত। সম্রাট্ শাহ্‌জহান ও ঔরঙ্গজেবের রাজত্বকালে ক্রমে ক্রমে এই সকল ভূখণ্ড বাঙ্গালার অন্তর্নিবিষ্ট হয়। প্রত্যক্ শ্বেতদ্বীপের

মহামাত্রগণ বাঙ্গালার উত্তর সীমা হিমবন্ত-প্রদেশ পর্য্যন্ত বিস্তৃত করিয়াছেন বটে, কিন্তু লৌহিত্য ও কৌশিকীর পূর্ব্বতীরস্থিত শ্রীহট্ট, পূর্ণিয়া প্রভৃতি কতকগুলি দেশ বাঙ্গালা হইতে বিচ্ছিন্ন করিয়া ইহাকে সুবা বাঙ্গালা অপেক্ষা হ্রস্বায়ত করিয়াছেন। [১]

[১] বঙ্গীয় সাহিত্য-সম্মিলনের মাজু অধিবেশনের ইতিহাস-শাখায় পঠিত।

APPENDIX A

প্রাচীন ভারতের ধর্ম্মসম্বন্ধে দু'একটী কথা

ভারতের প্রকৃত ধর্ম্ম কি? এই প্রশ্নের উত্তরপ্রদান সহজসাধ্য নহে। সুপ্রাচীন বৈদিক যুগে বরুণ, আদিত্য প্রভৃতি দেবগণের উপাসনায় ভক্তিধর্ম্মের আভাস পাওয়া যায় বটে, কিন্তু অব্যবহিত পরবর্ত্তী যুগে আর্য্যসমাজে যাগযজ্ঞই বোধহয় ধর্ম্মের প্রধান অঙ্গ বলিয়া বিবেচিত হইত। কোন কোন বৈদিক গ্রন্থে যজ্ঞকে পরম-দেবতা বিষ্ণুর সহিত অভিন্ন বলিয়া বর্ণন করা হইয়াছে। কিন্তু শীঘ্রই ভারতের মনীষিগণ বিধিযজ্ঞের প্রতি বীতশ্রদ্ধ হইয়া "পুরুষযজ্ঞ" ও "জ্ঞানযজ্ঞের" মহিমা কীর্ত্তন করিতে প্রবৃত্ত হইলেন। মুণ্ডক উপনিষদে উল্লিখিত হইয়াছে যে, ঋত্বিকসাধ্য যজ্ঞ সংসারার্ণব তরণের প্রকৃষ্ট উপায় বলিয়া পরিগণিত হইতে পারে না। যে সকল মূঢ় ব্যক্তি ইহাকেই শ্রেয়ঃ বলিয়া অভিনন্দিত করে তাহাদের মুক্তি অসম্ভব। তাহারা পুনঃ পুনঃ জরা ও মৃত্যুর বশগামী হয়। শ্রীমদ্‌ভগবদ্গীতা গ্রন্থে ভগবান্ বাসুদেব বলিয়াছেন যে, "দ্রব্যময়যজ্ঞ" অপেক্ষা জ্ঞানযজ্ঞই শ্রেয়ঃ। মহাভারতের অন্তর্ভুক্ত শান্তিপর্ব্বের মোক্ষধর্ম্ম পর্ব্বাধ্যায়ে এই সম্বন্ধে একটি সুন্দর আখ্যায়িকা বর্ণিত হইয়াছে। এক স্বাধ্যায়সম্পন্ন ব্রাহ্মণের মেধাবী নামে এক অতিশয় ধীশক্তিসম্পন্ন পুত্র ছিলেন। ব্রাহ্মণ পুত্রকে কর্ত্তব্যসম্বন্ধে উপদেশ দিয়া বলিয়াছিলেন, "মানবগণ প্রথমতঃ ব্রহ্মচর্য্যাশ্রমে অবস্থানপূর্ব্বক বেদপাঠ, পিতৃলোকের পরিত্রাণার্থ গার্হস্থ্যধর্ম্ম-পালন ও যথাবিধি যজ্ঞানুষ্ঠান করিয়া পরিশেষে বনে গমন ও মুনিবৃত্তি অবলম্বন করিবেন।" তদুত্তরে মেধাবী বলিলেন যে, "মাদৃশ ব্যক্তির অতিহিংস পশুযজ্ঞ অথবা পিশাচের ন্যায় বিনাশকর ক্ষত্রিয়যজ্ঞে দীক্ষিত হওয়া কদাপি বিধেয় নহে। যিনি কায়মনোবাক্যে প্রাণিগণের অনিষ্টাচরণ না করেন এবং যিনি কাহারও জীবিকা অপহরণে প্রবৃত্ত নহেন, তাঁহাকে কখনই কোন প্রাণী হইতে উদ্বেজিত হইতে হয় না। মোহান্ধ হইলেই মৃত্যুলাভ হয় এবং সত্যপথ অবলম্বন করিলেই অমৃতলাভ হইয়া থাকে। অতএব আমি হিংসা ও কাম ক্রোধ পরিশূন্য হইয়া একমাত্র সুখময় সত্যকে অবলম্বন-পূর্ব্বক অমরের ন্যায় মৃত্যুকে উপহাস করিব।" ছান্দোগ্য উপনিষদে কৃষ্ণগুরু মহর্ষি ঘোর আঙ্গিরস বলিয়াছেন যে, পুরুষের জীবনই একটা মহান্ যজ্ঞ। তপঃ, দান, আর্জ্জব, অহিংসা ও সত্যবচন এই যজ্ঞের দক্ষিণা অর্থাৎ সাধারণ যাজ্ঞিক ক্রিয়াকাণ্ডে দক্ষিণাপ্রদান যেরূপ ফলপ্রদ বলিয়া বিবেচিত হয় মানবজীবনে অহিংসা ও সত্যবচন প্রভৃতির অনুষ্ঠানও তদ্রূপ ধর্ম্মপুষ্টিকর বলিয়া মনে করিতে হইবে। মহাভারতে

লিখিত আছে যে, যিনি সর্ব্বভূতকে অভয়দান করেন তিনি অনাময় বিষ্ণুপদ প্রাপ্ত হন। অভয়দানে যেরূপ ফললাভ হয় সহস্র যজ্ঞানুষ্ঠানেও সেরূপ ফল প্রাপ্ত হওয়া যায় না। মৌর্য্যকুলরবি প্রিয়দর্শী অশোক যে মহান্ ধর্ম্ম সমগ্র জম্বুদ্বীপে অর্থাৎ ভারতবর্ষে প্রচারের জন্য ক্ষুদ্র ও মহৎ সকলকেই "পরাক্রম" প্রকাশ করিতে উপদেশ দিয়াছিলেন তাহার সহিত উপনিষদ্ ও ভারতপ্রোক্ত এই ধর্ম্মের বিশেষ বিরোধ নাই। সম্রাট্ অশোক এই ধর্ম্মকে "পোরণা পকিতী" অর্থাৎ পূর্ব্বযুগ হইতে প্রচলিত সনাতন ধর্ম্ম বলিয়া অভিহিত করিয়াছেন। তাঁহার মতে পিতামাতার শুশ্রূষা, আচার্য্য জ্ঞাতির প্রতি যথার্থ ব্যবহার, সকল প্রাণীর প্রতি করুণা ও সত্যবচনই এই ধর্ম্মের সারবস্তু। অশোকের ধর্ম্মলিপিতে কিন্তু ভগবদ্‌ভক্তির সুস্পষ্ট আভাস নাই।

মৌর্য্যোত্তর যুগের উৎকীর্ণ লিপিতে অহিংসার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে "দম, ত্যাগ ও অপ্রমাদ"-এর মহিমা কীর্ত্তিত হইয়াছে। পূর্ব্ব-মালবের প্রাচীন রাজধানী বিদিশা (বর্ত্তমান বেসনগর) নামক স্থানে একখানি ক্ষোদিত লিপি আবিষ্কৃত হইয়াছে। উহা খৃষ্টপূর্ব্ব দ্বিতীয় শতাব্দীতে উৎকীর্ণ। ইহা পাঠে অবগত হওয়া যায় যে, তক্ষশিলার যবনরাজ আন্টিয়াল্‌কিদসের দূত হেলিওদোর দেবদেব বাসুদেবের উদ্দেশ্যে শ্রদ্ধাঞ্জলি নিবেদন করিয়া বলিয়া গিয়াছেন যে তিনটি "অমৃতপদ" সম্যগ্‌রূপে অনুষ্ঠিত হইলে স্বর্গে নিয়া যায়। এই তিনটির নাম দম, ত্যাগ ও অপ্রমাদ। বাসুদেবভক্ত ভাগবত হেলিওদোরের এই ধর্ম্মমত যে হিন্দু-শাস্ত্রসম্মত এ বিষয়ে সন্দেহ নাই। শান্তিপর্ব্বের "হংস গীতা" পাঠে অবগত হওয়া যায় যে, দমই অমৃতের দ্বারস্বরূপ। মহাভারতের অন্যত্র উল্লিখিত আছে যে দম, ত্যাগ ও অপ্রমাদ এই তিনটি ব্রহ্মার অশ্ব। যিনি শীলরূপ রশ্মি গ্রহণপূর্ব্বক এই তিন অশ্বসংযুক্ত মানসরথে আরোহণ করিতে পারেন, তিনি মৃত্যুভয় পরিহারপূর্ব্বক অনায়াসে ব্রহ্মলোকগমনে সমর্থ হন।

পরবর্ত্তী কালের ক্ষোদিত লিপিতে ভাগবত, মাহেশ্বর, সৌর, বৌদ্ধ প্রভৃতি সকল সম্প্রদায়ের মধ্যে ভক্তিধর্ম্মের প্রভাব বিশেষরূপে লক্ষিত হয়। ইতিহাসপাঠে জানা যায় যে, গুপ্তবংশীয় ও পুষ্যভূতি কুলোদ্ভব সম্রাট্‌গণের অভ্যুদয়কালে ভগবান্ বিষ্ণু, শিব, আদিত্যপ্রমুখ দেবগণকে এবং অবলোকিতেশ্বরপ্রমুখ বোধিসত্ত্বগণকে কেন্দ্র করিয়াই এই ভক্তিধর্ম্ম প্রধানতঃ প্রচারিত হইয়াছিল। কিন্তু এই যুগের উৎকীর্ণ লিপিতে যে "শতসাহস্র সংহিতার" প্রামাণ্য পুনঃ পুনঃ স্বীকৃত হইয়াছে তাহাতে পুরুষোত্তম নারায়ণের সঙ্গে সঙ্গে নরোত্তম নরেরও প্রতি শ্রদ্ধাঞ্জলি প্রদান করা হইয়াছে। এই মহাগ্রন্থপাঠে অবগত হওয়া যায় যে, শুধু "নরোত্তম" নর নহেন, মনুষ্য মাত্রই শ্রদ্ধার পাত্র, মানুষের শ্রেষ্ঠত্ব উপলব্ধি করাই ধর্ম্মের গূঢ় তত্ত্ব।

গুহ্যং ব্রহ্ম তদিদং বো ব্রবীমি।
ন মানুষাচ্ছ্রেষ্ঠতরং হি কিঞ্চিৎ॥

দেবভক্তি ও মানবের প্রতি শ্রদ্ধার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে কায়মনোবাক্যে সকল প্রাণিহিতের কথাওএই যুগের মনীষিগণ বিস্মৃত হন নাই। সম্রাট্ হর্ষের তাম্রশাসনে লিখিত আছে যে, তিনি প্রাণিহিতকেই শ্রেষ্ঠ ধর্ম্ম বলিয়া বিবেচনা করিতেন।

কর্ম্মণা মনসা বাচা কর্ত্তব্যং প্রাণিনে হিতং
হর্ষেনৈতৎ সমাখ্যাতং ধর্ম্মার্জ্জনমনুত্তমং।

কিন্তু এই সময়ে আর একটি বিষয়ে রাজন্যবর্গ বিশেষ আগ্রহ প্রকাশ করিয়াছিলেন। সেটীকে উঁহারা "বর্ণাশ্রম ব্যবস্থাপন" বলিয়া অভিহিত করিয়াছেন। বর্ণবিভাগ ও বর্ণের স্বরূপসম্বন্ধে ভৃগু, ভরদ্বাজপ্রমুখ প্রাচীন ঋষিগণের মত মহাভারতের শান্তিপর্ব্বে যেরূপ বিবৃত হইয়াছে তাহা নিম্নে উদ্ধৃত করিয়া আমাদের প্রবন্ধ শেষ করিব।

কথিত আছে একদা মহর্ষি ভৃগু মহাত্মা ভরদ্বাজের এক প্রশ্নের উত্তরে বলিয়াছিলেন, "হে ভরদ্বাজ! ভগবান্ ব্রহ্মা প্রথমে আপনার তেজ হইতে ভাস্কর ও অনলের ন্যায় প্রভাসম্পন্ন ব্রহ্মনিষ্ঠ মরীচ প্রভৃতি প্রজাপতিদিগের সৃষ্টি করিয়া স্বর্গ লাভের উপায়স্বরূপ সত্য, ধর্ম্ম, তপস্যা, শাশ্বত বেদ, আচার ও শৌচের সৃষ্টি করিলেন। অনন্তর দেব, দানব, গন্ধর্ব্ব, দৈত্য, অসুর, যক্ষ, রাক্ষস, নাগ, পিশাচ এবং ব্রাহ্মণ, ক্ষত্রিয়, বৈশ্য ও শূদ্র এই চতুর্ব্বিধ মনুষ্যজাতির সৃষ্টি হইল। তখন ব্রাহ্মণেরা সত্বগুণ, ক্ষত্রিয়েরা রজোগুণ, বৈশ্যেরা রজঃ ও তমোগুণ এবং শূদ্রেরা নিরবচ্ছিন্ন তমোগুণ প্রাপ্ত হইলেন।

ভরদ্বাজ কহিলেন, ব্রহ্মন্! সকল মনুষ্যেই ত সর্ব্বপ্রকার গুণ বিদ্যমান রহিয়াছে, অতএব কেবল গুণদ্বারা কখনই মনুষ্যগণের বর্ণভেদ করা যাইতে পারে না। দেখুন, সমুদয় লোককেই কাম, ক্রোধ, ভয়, লোভ, শোক, চিন্তা, ক্ষুধা ও পরিশ্রম প্রভাবে ব্যাকুল হইতে হয়..........অতএব গুণদ্বারা কিরূপে বর্ণ বিভাগ করা যাইতে পারে?

ভৃগু কহিলেন, তপোধন! ইহলোকে বস্তুত বর্ণের ইতরবিশেষ নাই। সমুদয় জগৎই ব্রহ্মময়। মনুষ্যগণ পূর্ব্বে ব্রহ্মা হইতে সৃষ্ট হইয়া ক্রমে ক্রমে কার্য্যদ্বারা ভিন্ন ভিন্ন বর্ণে পরিগণিত হইয়াছে। যে ব্রাহ্মণগণ রজোগুণ প্রভাবে কামভোগপ্রিয়, ক্রোধপরতন্ত্র, সাহসী ও তীক্ষ্ণ হইয়া স্বধর্ম্ম পরিত্যাগ করিয়াছেন, তাঁহারা ক্ষত্রিয়ত্ব, যাঁহারা রজঃ ও তমোগুণ প্রভাবে পশুপালন ও কৃষিকার্য্য অবলম্বন করিয়াছেন, তাঁহারা বৈশ্যত্ব ও যাঁহারা তমোগুণ প্রভাবে হিংসাপরতন্ত্র, লুব্ধ, সর্ব্বকর্ম্মোপজীবী, মিথ্যাবাদী

ও শৌচভ্রষ্ট হইয়া উঠিয়াছেন, তাঁহারাই শূদ্রত্ব প্রাপ্ত হইয়াছেন। ব্রাহ্মণগণ এইরূপ কার্য্যদ্বারাই পৃথক্ পৃথক্ বর্ণ লাভ করিয়াছেন।

ভরদ্বাজ কহিলেন, তপোধন! ব্রাহ্মণ, ক্ষত্রিয়, বৈশ্য ও শূদ্র এই চারিবর্ণের লক্ষণ কি? তাহা আমার নিকটে কীর্ত্তন করুন।

ভৃগু কহিলেন, ভরদ্বাজ! যাঁহারা জাতকর্ম্মাদি সংস্কারে সংস্কৃত, পরম পবিত্র ও বেদাধ্যয়নে অনুরক্ত হইয়া প্রতিদিন সন্ধ্যাবন্দন, স্নান, জপ, হোম, দেবপূজা ও অতিথিসৎকার এই ষট্‌কার্য্যের অনুষ্ঠান করেন; যাঁহারা শৌচাচারপরায়ণ, নিত্য ব্রতনিষ্ঠ, গুরুপ্রিয় ও সত্যনিরত হইয়া ব্রাহ্মণের ভুক্তাবশিষ্ট অন্ন ভোজন করেন, আর যাঁহাদিগকে দান, অদ্রোহ অনৃশংসতা, ক্ষমা, ঘৃণা ও তপস্যায় একান্ত আসক্ত দেখিতে পাওয়া যায়, তাঁহারা ব্রাহ্মণ। যাঁহারা বেদাধ্যয়ন, যুদ্ধকার্য্যের অনুষ্ঠান, ব্রাহ্মণগণকে ধনদান ও প্রজাদিগের নিকট কর গ্রহণ করেন, তাঁহারা ক্ষত্রিয় এবং যাঁহারা পবিত্র হইয়া বেদাধ্যয়ন ও কৃষি-বাণিজ্যাদি কার্য্য সম্পাদন করেন, তাঁহারা বৈশ্য বলিয়া পরিগণিত হন। আর যাহারা বেদহীন ও আচারভ্রষ্ট হইয়া সতত সকল কার্য্যের অনুষ্ঠান ও সর্ব্ববস্তু ভক্ষণ করে, তাহাদিগকে শূদ্র বলিয়া গণনা করা যায়। যদি কোন ব্যক্তি ব্রাহ্মণকুলে জন্মগ্রহণ করিয়া শূদ্রের ন্যায় ব্যবহার করে, তাহা হইলে তাহাকে শূদ্র ও যদি কোন ব্যক্তি শূদ্রবংশে সম্ভূত হইয়া ব্রাহ্মণের ন্যায় নিয়মনিষ্ঠ হন, তাহা হইলে তাঁহাকে ব্রাহ্মণ বলিয়া নির্দ্দেশ করা যাইতে পারে।”*

* স্বর্গীয় কালীপ্রসন্ন সিংহ মহাশয় কর্ত্তৃক অনূদিত মহাভারত হইতে উদ্ধৃত।

APPENDIX B.

ASPECTS OF HINDU CIVIC LIFE.

Nothing illustrates more clearly the fundamental difference between the eastern and western outlook on life as the respective attitude of the European historian and the Indian law-giver towards the city. "Civilisation," says a western writer, "has always its home in the city." The remark holds good not only of the ancient Mediterranean world, which could boast of the City of the Violet Crown off the Saronic Gulf and of the mightier City of the Seven Hills on the Tiber, but also of the massive continents on either sides of the north Atlantic, where life centres mainly round the huge cities whose spires tower above the banks of the Thames and the Seine, the Hudson and the Lake Michigan. On the other hand the Hindu law-giver asks the faithful to avoid going into towns declaring that it is impossible for one to obtain salvation, who lives in a town covered with dust. It can not be denied that culture in an important epoch of Indian history radiated not so much from the capital cities of Hastināpur and Kapilāvastu as from the forest-retreats of Naimisha and the Deer Park on the site of modern Sarnath. Even in modern times the bulk of the Indian population shows a preference for life in the rural parts far away from the dust and smoke of cities, not excluding the city of Job Charnock. The leafy solitudes of the Himalayas still resound with the melodies of Vedic students who vie with the alumni of urban universities in the pursuit of knowledge.

Nevertheless the impartia student of history can not shut his eyes to the fact that in spite of priestly admonitions cities did grow and flourish quite early in India's chequered annals and the amenities and responsibilities of civic life were not altogether unknown or unappreciated in this country in ancient times. Remains of stately cities with brick buildings, bathrooms and an elaborate system of drainage have been laid bare in the pre-historic ruins of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa in the lower valley of the mighty stream that glides through the land hallowed by the songs of the Ṛig Veda and the thrilling lay of Vidulā. Imperial capitals with gates, watch-towers and walls graced the valley of the sister stream that flows into the Bay of Bengal, when the son of the Sākyas and the hero of the Jñātrikas preached their message of peace and good will full

five centuries before the birth of the sage of Galilee. Big cities sprang into existence on the great trade-route connecting north-west India with the outer world, to which flocked merchant princes and political adventurers from central and western Asia as well as the flower of the Indian aristocracy, attracted alike by the wealth of the market place and the fame of the sages and bards who gave instruction in various branches of knowledge or recited the heroic poetry of the *Mahābhārata*. An elaborate system of municipal government was developed at least as early as the fourth century B.C., and urban establishments for dispensing charity and medicine excited the admiration of foreign travellers as early as the fourth century A.D.

From the beginning Indian citizens showed a keen appreciation of the true civic ideal, which, in the words of some of the most illustrious sons of modern India, is to build up a healthy and progressive community with co-operation and public service as ideals. "This is the holy mystery," declares the *Śānti Parva* of India's national epic, "there is nothing nobler than humanity"; and the s ervice of humanity was always placed by the Indians in the forefront of the civic programme. Referring to certain cities and towns of Eastern India a Chinese traveller of the fourth century A.D. observes, "The inhabitants are rich and prosperous, and vie with one another in the practice of benevolence and righteousness. The elders and gentry of these countries establish in the cities free hospitals. All the poor and destitute in the country, orphans, widowers and childless men, maimed people and cripples, and all who are diseased go to those houses, and are provided with every kind of help, and doctors examine their diseases. They get the food and medicines which their cases require, and are made to feel at ease, and when they are better, they go away of themselves." The care which the citizens bestowed on the people was not confined to the childre . cf the soil. Speaking about the city fathers of Pātaliputra a Greekdiplo matist of the fourth century B.C. informs us that "those who have charge of the city are divided into six bodies of five each. The members of the first look after everything relating to the industrial arts. Those of the second attend to the entertainment of foreigners. To these they assign lodgings and they keep watch over their mode of life by means of those persons whom they give to them for assistants. They escort them on the way when they leave the country, or, in the event of their dying, forward their

property to their relations. They take care of them when they are sick, and, if they die, bury them."

The importance of good dwelling houses for the people and a proper system of drainage was clearly grasped by Indian citizens as early as the third millennium B.C. Excavations carried out by the Archaeological Department at Mohenjo-Daro in Sind have disclosed the remains of a firmly built city belonging to the period of transition from the stone to the copper age. "The dwelling houses of citizens," says Sir John Marshall, "are remarkable for the excellence of their construction and for the relatively high degree of comfort evidenced by the presence of wells, bath rooms, brick-flooring and an elaborate system of drainage, all of which go to indicate a social condition of the people surprisingly advanced for the age in which they were living." An American writer, who has given much study to the Sanskrit epics, notes the fact that the ancient Indian city was laid out in several squares. The streets were lighted with torches and watered. Besides palaces and the humble dwellings of the poor there were various assemblies, dancing halls, courts of justice, booths of traders and work-places of artisans. Pleasure parks abounded. The watering of streets he justly regards as unique.

Some of the cities could boast of educational establishments which attracted students and inquirers from distant climes. Taxila in the extreme north-west of the Punjab was specially celebrated as a university-town to which eager scholars flocked for instruction in the three *Vedas* and the eighteen branches of knowledge. A Brahmanical writer on poetics in the ninth century A.D. relers to the fame of Ujjain and Pātaliputra as ancient seats of learning. A Chinese pilgrim is eloquent in his praise of the 'scholastic arrangements' of the latter city to which "Shamans of the highest virtue from all the four quarters, and students, inquirers wishing to find out truth and investigate the principles of duty to one's neighbour, all resort."

It will thus be seen that the citizens of ancient India did not take a narrow view of their responsibilities. They devoted themselves to the service of the poor and the destitute irrespective of caste, creed or nationality and understood the value of good dwelling houses, fine parks, well-lighted and well-watered streets, a proper system of drainage, hospitals and medical relief. They developed a system of municipal government which won the approbation of Megasthenes, and the arrangements they made for the service of

the poor and the education of students and inquirers excited the admiration of Fa Hien. Well may the city-fathers of India emulate the example of their forbears to whose hands were committed the destinies of the metropolis of ancient India when "the throne of the Mauryas and the sceptre of the Guptas" had not yet passed into the hands of a new race.

APPENDIX C

The Great Epic of India: A Study

The *Mahābhārata*, the Great Epic of India is, next to the *Ṛig Veda Saṁhitā*, perhaps the most remarkable work in Sanskrit literature. It is the biggest of the world's epics. Since the commencement of the sixth century A.C., it is known to have consisted of 100,000 *ślokas* or verses, equal to about eight times as much as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* put together. From the beginning it has enjoyed exceptional popularity. Heroes of the great poem find prominent mention in the works of grammarians, theologians, political thinkers, poets and dramatists almost uninterruptedly from about the fifth century B.C., while the prowess of its principal heroes is mentioned with admiration by royal personages in the Deccan already in the second century A.C. The whole poem is known to have been recited in temples in far off Cambodia as early as the sixth century A.C. In the next century we find the Turks of Mongolia reading in their own idiom thrilling episodes like the *Hiḍimbavadha*. The work was translated into their own vernacular by the people of Java before the conclusion of the tenth century.

A Scholar's Opinion

As pointed out by a famous scholar who has given study to this poem, the *Mahābhārata* represents a whole literature rather than a single homogeneus work. It constitutes a veritable treasure-house of Indian lore both secular and religious, and gives, as does no other single work, an insight into the innermost depths of the soul of the people of Hindusthān. It is a 'song of victory' (*Jayonāmetītihāso'yam*) commemorating the deeds of heroism in a war to avenge insults to womanhood, and maintain the just rights of a dynasty that had extended the heritage of Bharata and had knit together the North, East, West and South of India into one empire. It is a '*Purāṇa Saṁhitā*' or collection of old tales containing diverse stories (*chitrā kathāḥ*) of seers and sages, of beautiful maids and dutiful wives, of valiant warriors and of saintly kings. It is also a magnificent '*Kāvya*' ('*Kāvyaṁ paramapūjitam*') describing in inimitable language the fury of the battle-field, the stillness of the forest-hermitage, the majesty of the roaring sea "dancing with billows and

laughing with foams" (III. 104.22f)', the just indignation of the "true daughter of a warrior line", and the lament of the aged mother of dead heroes. It is a manual of law and morality (*'Śāstra'*), and of social and political philosophy, laying down rules of conduct for the attainment of *'trivarga'* or the three great aims animating all human conduct, *'Dharma,' 'Artha'* and *'Kāma'*, i.e. moral and religious duties, material wealth and pleasures of the flesh.

Arthaśāstramidaṁ proktaṁ
Dharmaśāstramidaṁ mahat
Kāmaśāstramidaṁ proktaṁ
Vyāsenāmitabuddhinā. (*1.2.383*)

Above all it is a *'moksha śāstra'* or sacred treatise showing the way to salvation, expounding the highest religious philosophy of India and inculcating reverence not only for Nārāyana, the Supreme Spirit, Sarasvatī, from whom flow all learning and the arts, and Nara the superman, the ideal fighter and seer, the close associate of God, but for mankind, in general. "This is the holy mystery", declares the *'Sānti Parva'* of the Great Epic. "There is nothing nobler than humanity" :—

Guhyaṁ brahma tadidaṁ vo bravīmi
Na mānushāchchhreshṭhataraṁ hi kiñchit. (*XII.299.20*)

Cf. Terence "Homo sum : humani nihil a me alienum puto".

ANTIQUITY OF MAHĀBHĀRATA

Regarding the origin and antiquity of the poem our information is surprisingly meagre. It professes to be a composition of the holy sage Kṛishṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa and is said to have been completed in three years. But there is evidence to show that it has been added to from time to time, that it has passed through several stages of development and that it attained to its present bulk by a slow and gradual process. For the beginnings of epic poetry we must turn to the Vedic texts—the *'ākhyānas'* and the *'itihāsas'* embodied in the *Brāhmaṇas* and connected treaties and often recited at great sacrifices like the *'Rājasūya'* and the *'Aśvamedha'* as well as the hero-lauds (*gāthā nāraśamsi*) sung in praise of mighty princes and warriors to the accompaniment of a musical instrument which in the *Mahābhārata* itself is called *'saptatantrī vīṇā'* (III.134.14. seven-stringed lute or lyre). Of the stories, songs and lauds referred to above not a few proclaimed the sanctity of 'Kurukshetra', the intrepidity of the 'inviolate Arjuna' and the glory and fame of

Bharata, of Pratīpa, of Santanu, of Dhritarāshtra Vaichitravīrya, of Parikshit, of Janamejaya and others of the Bharata or Kuru race, and spoke of the feuds between the Kurus and the Sriñjayas and the calamity that overtook the former. It is such legends and lays that formed the nucleus of a *Kathā* that assumed coherent shape sometime before Āśvalāyana and Pāṇini who probably flourished in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. Originally a heroic tale or 'song of victory'—known by the name of *Bhārata* (XVIII.5.49) and '*Bhāratī Kathā*' (I.61.3) *i.e.*, tale of the Bharata race or of the Bhārata war and singing the victory of the Pāṇdus led by Arjuna and Krishṇa-Devakīputra, later identified with Nara and Nārāyaṇa, it was handled by successive generations of *sutas*, or bards devoted to the Bhagavat and well-versed in Purāṇic lore, Brāhmaṇas who recited charming tales ('*divyākhyānāni ye chāpi paṭhanti madhuraṁ dvijāḥ*') and ascetics living in woods ('*śramaṇāścha vanaukasaḥ*') at Taxila, Naimishāraṇya and other places who transformed it into a vast storehouse of old lays and ballads as well as of precepts of law, polity, morality and religion. On the one hand it grew into a Holy Writ of the 'Bhāgavatas'—a '*Kārshṇa Veda*' as it is called in the '*Ādi*' and '*Svargārohana parvas*' written by the sage Krishṇa which taught *Bhakti* (loving faith) in Vāsudeva Krishṇa and incorporated the 'Song of the Lord'; on the other hand, it summed up Brahmanism and all that it stood for, and became a veritable encyclopaedia which 'forgot nothing and absorbed everything' ('*yadihāsti tadanyatra yannehāsti na kutrachit*') in which we find side by side martial songs giving highly coloured pictures of battle-fields, where the twang of the warrior's bow resembles the rumbling of rainclouds (*gāṇḍivasya cha nirghosham prāviḍ-jalada niḥsvanam*), and the shriek of troops sounds like the roar of the tempest-tossed ocean (*marutoddhuta vegasya sāgarasyeva parvani*), lovely idyls depicting forest scenes and celebrating the victory of love and constancy over destiny and death, scholastic discourses on religion, philosophy and sociology intermingled with "mild ascetic poetry of edifying wisdom and over flowing love towards man and beast".

A Pāṇḍu story in verses is already known to Patañjali : *asidvitiya-manusasāra Pāṇḍavam.* At some stage in its development the poem contained 24,000 verses, but gradually by absorption of numerous '*Upākhyānas*' or secondary tales, and a considerable mass of floating literature it attained to its present bulk of

100,000 verses or prose equivalents. This process was practically completed in the fifth century A.C.

Spread of Aryan Civilisation

When the epic began, the centre of Aryan civilisation was in the valleys of the Ganges and the Yamunā where rose the flourishing kingdoms of the Kurus, the Pañchālas, the Sālvas and the Matsyas as well as the powerful confederacy of the Yādavas of Mathurā. Large tracts even in this region were still covered with forests, some of which notably the 'Khāṇḍavavana', the 'Kāmyakavana' and the 'Daitavana' find prominent mention in the epic narrative. Through these and other woodlands glided sacred streams like the Sarasvatī, the Dṛishadvatī and the Mālinī, the banks of which were dotted over with serene hermitage of seers and sages, "echoing with the sweet songs of birds and clad with flowery attire of many colours", while the smiling plains in the neighbourhood were besprinkled and fertilised by the life-giving streams of the Yamunā and the Ganges, the waters of which reflected the splendours of stately capitals of the warrior clans surrounded by massive walls and deep moats and abounding in pleasure-parks and palaces. Before the epic was complete Aryan civilisation has spread over the whole of the vast sub-continent named after the illustrious Bharata and stretching from Badarī, hallowed by the hermitage of Naranārāyaṇa (III.156.10) in the North to Kumarī in the land of the Pāṇdyas in the extreme South (III.88.14) and from Dvārāvatī nestling under the shelter of Mount Ujjayanta in the West (III.88.24 but washed by the sea in the later *Maushala parva*), to Prāgjyotisha and Kāmākhyā beyond the Lauhitya or the Brahmaputra in the East (III.82.105,85.2). The centre of political gravity was in the western part of the '*Madhya-deśa*' or the upper Ganges Valley, though Magadha (South Bihar) was clearly laying the foundations of its future greatness. But the name of Pāṭaliputra was not yet heard of and the sturdy warriors of South Bihar were still content with their old hill fortress of Girivraja. The people of the holy land watered by the Sarasvatī and the Yamunā looked askance at the new type of imperialism that had been evolved on the banks of the Sone and had resulted in the imprisonment of hundreds of princes who were kept for slaughter in the fortress of Girivraja "as mighty elephants are kept in mountain caves by the lion" ('*kandare parvatendrasya siṁhen̤eva mahādvipāḥ*'). The statesman of the '*Madhya-deśa*' devised a new scheme of

conquest which secured the release of these princes and the unification of Bhāratavarsha under a just and virtuous emperor (*'Dharma-rāja'*) who performed Vedic sacrifices and demanded from his lieges 'only agreeable services, homage or tribute' and had no desire to offer them as victims in a horrid rite (II.33.6).

King and the State

The great king of the epic was usually a monarch who could boast of an illustrious pedigree and a claim to rule by hereditary right (*'vaṁśabhojyam'*, III.78.9). But elective monarchies were not unknown, and in the *'Puruvaṁśāunkīrtana'* section of the *'Ādi Parva'* we have a reference to a ruler—whom all the peoples elected to the kingship saying he is a virtuous man: *'Rājatve tam prajāḥ sarvā dharmajña iti vavrīre.'* In several passages mention is also made of kingless peoples or corporations (*'gaṇa'*) that are autonomous and of warrior clans having a titular *'rājā'* but actually governed by elders styled *'Saṅgha-mūkhyas'*.

The head of the state in the epic was no autocrat. He carried on the affairs of his realm with the assistance of a *sabhā* which was either an assembly of all the warriors of the clan (I.220.10ff.) or a Council of Elders consisting of the members of the royal family, generals, subordinate allies and other military chiefs (*'Śūras'*, V.47.10). The circle of advisers and councillors was some times enlarged by the admission of priests and even representatives of the lower orders of the people as the following verses of the *'Śānti Parva'* (XII.85.6f) seem to indicate:

"I shall tell you (the king) what kinds of ministers should be appointed by you. Four *Brāhmaṇas* learned in the *'Vedas'* ready-witted, who have completed the period of study and discipline and are of pure conduct, and eight *Kshatriyas*, all of whom should have physical strength and be capable of wielding weapons, and one and twenty *Vaiśyas*, all of whom should be rich, and three *Śūdras*, every one of whom should be humble and of pure conduct and devoted to his daily duties, and one man of the *Sūta* caste possessing the knowledge of the *'Purāṇas'* and the eight principal virtues should be your ministers."

The royal advisers in the epic did not hesitate to upbraid or reprove the king when he went wrong. The *'rājā'* had also to defer to the wishes of the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Śreṇimūkhyas* (III.248.16 elders of corporations) and the people whose opinion could not always

be ignored (*cf.* III. 107). The connection between the king and the people was based on a theory of mutual advantage. The king was to protect the people and do what was pleasing to them (*'rañjitāścha prajāḥ sarvāstena rājeti sabdyate'*, XII.59.125) in return for the taxes that he received. For the efficient discharge of his duties he had to learn the *Vedas* and the *Śāstras* (*'nikhilān Vedān Śāstrāṇi vividhāni cha'*, I.1.124) and practise self-control.

Satataṁ nigrahe yukta
Indriyāṇāṁ bhavennṛipaḥ
Ipsannarthañcha dharmañcha
Dvishatāñcha parābhavam. (*V.129.34*)

The Army

For purposes of defence and the defeat of his enemies the king had to maintain a standing army with a *'Senāpati'* at its head. The army was sub-divided into regiments and battalions, styled *anikinī*, *chamū*, *pṛitanā*, *vāhinī*, etc. The fighting forces consisted not only of chariots, elephants, horses, and infantry but also, according to some passages of the twelfth book (59.41f) of a navy, labourers, spies, and local guides. Standards and flags bore an important part in battle. Among weapons the most interesting are the *'yantra'* or 'machine' and the *'Sataghnī'* or hundred-killer which were often used as projectiles (III.283.30f). The laws of war were humane though they were not always observed in practice when feelings ran high. The army seems to have been recruited from all castes, though the *Kshatriyas* naturally formed the predominant element. We have reference not only to *Brāhmaṇa* generals, but also the *Vaiśya* and *Śūdra* warriors along with those belonging to the *Kshatriya* caste.

Teshāmantakaraṁ yuddhaṁ
Dehapāpmāśunāśanam
Kshatravit Śūdravīrāṇāṁ
Dharmyaṁ svargyaṁ yaśaskaram. (*VIII.47.18*)

"That great battle destructive of life, body and sins, brought on religious merit, heaven and fame for all the *Kshatriya*, *Vaiśya* and *Śūdra* heroes that engaged in it."

Social Gradation and Caste

Though the four primary castes and mixed castes were known social divisions had not yet become as rigid as in later times. We have indeed in a passage of the *'Santi Parva'* (188.10) the bold statement that there is no distinction of castes. The whole of this

universe is divine, having emanated from *Brahman*. Created (equally) by the Supreme Spirit men have on account of their '*Karma*' (deed or profession) been divided into various castes:—

Na viśesho'sti varṇānāṁ
Sarvaṁ Brahma idaṁ jagat
Brahmaṇā pūrvasṛishtaṁ hi
Karmabhirvarṇatāṁ gatam. (*Mbh.XII.188.10*)

In the fourth *adhyāya* of the '*Gītā*' the *Bhagavat* Himself says that He created the four Varṇas or castes "having regard to the distribution of qualities and works" ('*guṇa-karma-vibhāgasaḥ*'). The qualities required in a member of the highest caste are thus described in the '*Pativratopākhyāna*' of the '*Vana Parva*' (Ch ccv. 33-37):—

" Wrath is the enemy of persons residing in their (own) body. (One) who forsakes this wrath and infatuation (*krodhamohau*)—him the gods know to be a *Brāhmaṇa*. Who speaks the truth and pleases the elders, who though himself injured, never injures another —him the gods know to be a *Brāhmaṇa* (*hiṁsitaścha na hiṁseta taṁ devā Brāhmaṇaṁ viduḥ*). Who has his senses under his control, who is virtuous, devoted to studies and pure, who knows how to restrain lust and anger—him the gods know to be a *Brāhmaṇa*. The high-minded man who loves all people as his own self, knows what is right and applies himself to all righteous acts—him the gods know to be a *Brāhmaṇa*. (*kāmakrodhau vaśe yasya taṁ devā Brāhmaṇaṁ viduḥ; yasya chātmasamo loko dharmayñaśya manasvinaḥ. Sarvadharmeshu cha ratastaṁ devā Brāhmaṇaṁ viduḥ*) Who studies himself and teaches others, who performs sacrifices and officiates at sacrifices performed by others and gives away (in charity) according to the means—him the gods know to be a *Brāhmaṇa*. The foremost of the twice-born, who is a Vedic student, practising continence, who is generous and sober, who attends to his studies—him the gods know to be a *Brāhmaṇa*

POSITION OF WOMEN

Women were accorded a place of honour in epic society and were allowed a considerable amount of freedom in the early period. Misogynists of the age no doubt spoke of girls as a torment (1.159.11., '*kṛichchhrantu duhitā kila*') and women as the root of all evil (XIII.38.1f.) ('*Striyo hi mūlaṁ doshaṇāṁ laghu chittā hi tāḥ*

smṛitāḥ'). But the better mind of the age had nothing but veneration for the fair sex. "Women should always be honoured, for when they are honoured the deities rejoice."

Striyastu mānamarhanti
tā mānayata mānavāḥ

XIII.46.9.

Striyo yatra cha pūjyante
ramante tatra devatāḥ

XIII.46.5.

"Three things do not become impure—women, gems and water."

Adūshyā hi striyo ratnam-
āpa ityeva dharmataḥ

XII.165.32.

"Women should not be slain" (*'Sarvathā strī na hantavyā,* XII.135.14).

Api chāyaṁ purā gītaḥ
śloko Vālmikinā bhuvi
na hantavyāḥ striya iti.

VII.141.49. *Cf.* II.40.13;
III.205.46.

The noble sentiments about women are reflected in the tales of Sāvitrī, Sakuntalā, Tapatī, Damayantī and Sītā than whom "no more tender and delicate types of women are to be found". Epic heroines received a liberal education in their fathers' houses and developed into well-taught and clever disputants. Thus a princess tells her husband in the *'Vana Parva'* (cf. 32.60f.) how in days long gone by her father and her brothers received lessons on the *Nīti* of Bṛihaspati from an erudite *Brāhmaṇa* and she herself listened to all these discourses while seated on her father's lap. In the *'Udyoga Parva'* (133.3) a *Kshatriya* matron is described as being widely known for her knowledge and learning :

Viśrutā rājasaṁsatsu śrutavākyā bahuśrutā

In several epic stories we find maids choosing their own husbands and in a famous episode of the *'Vana Parva'* a king asks his daughter to choose a husband and says that he will give her to the man of her choice :

Svayamanvichchha bhartāraṁ
Guṇaiḥ sadṛiśamātmanaḥ
Prārthitaḥ purusho yaścha
Sa nivedyastvayā mama

Vimṛisyāhaṁ pradāsyāmi
Varaya tvaṁ yathepsitam. III.292.32ff.

Privacy of women was practised in certain families but many of the epic tales bear witness to a freer life when women laid aside their veils and came out of the seclusion of their house. This was specially the case at the time of '*Svyaṁvara*' (self-choice of husband) or on the occasion of a great national festival or sorrow. The characteristic traits of the women of the period and the place they occupied in society are clearly brought out in several *Upākhyānas*. In the story of Sāvitrī we have the ideal wife wrestling with the God of Death for the life of her husband. The episode of Vidulā bears testimony to the fierce unbending spirit of the true daughter of an aristocratic house (*Kulejātāvibhāvarī*) who exhorts her indolent son to "flare up like a torch of ebony wood, though it be but for a moment, but smother not like a fire of chaff just to prolong life".

Alātaṁ tindukasyeva
Muhūrtamapi hi jvala
Mā tushāgnirivānarchir
Dhūmāyasva jijīvishuḥ (V.133.14)

The place of the wife in domestic economy is best described in the following lines of the '*Śakuntalopākhyāna*' (*Mbh*.I.74.41f.) ;—

Ardhaṁ bhāryā manushyasya
Bhāryā śreshṭhatamāḥ sakhā
Bhāryā mūlaṁ trivargsya
Bhāryā mūlam tarishyataḥ

* * * *

Sakhāyaḥ praviviktcshu
Bhavantyetāḥ priyambadāḥ
Pitaro dharmakāryeshu
Bhavantyārtasya wātaraḥ

"A wife is half the man, transcends
In value far all other friends,
She every earthly blessing brings,
And even redemption from her springs."

* * * *

"In lonely hours, companion bright,
These charming women give delight,
Like fathers wise, in duty tried,
Like virtuous acts they prompt and guide,

When'er we suffer pain and grief,
Like mothers kind they bring relief".

Cf. *Virātaparva*, 3.14, *Māteva paripalyā cha pūjyā jyesthcva cha svasā*

RELIGIOUS IDEAS IN MAHĀBHĀRATA

As already stated the *Mahābhārata* is not only an *'Itihāsa'* and a manual on law and duty, it is also a *'moksha-sāstra'* which undertakes to show the way to deliverance from a world of change and pain. The religion, *dharma*, that it inculcates, has a two-fold basis in truth and the *'Vedas'* :—

Durjñeyaḥ śāśvato dharmaḥ
Sa cha satye pratishṭhitaḥ
Śrutipramāṇo dharmaḥ syād
Iti vṛidhānuśāsanam

III.205.41.

The religious ideas of the epic are not however a mere replica of those prevailing in the early Vedic period. Great changes have taken place in men's conception of divinity and the problems of life. The old Vedic gods have lost much of their pristine splendour and anthropomorphism has made the presiding deities of nature 'quite human in dress, talk and action'. New deities like Skanda and Viśākha, Vaiśravana and Maṇibhadra take their place in the pantheon. Deification of heroes proceeds apace. But the whole world of gods and demi-gods, sentient beings and inanimate things is conceived as a 'perpetual process of creation and destruction filling eternity with an everlasting rhythm', and the entire scheme is placed under the law of *'Karma'* which secures that every individual shall reap the fruit of deeds performed in antecedent existences. "As a calf could recognise its mother among a thousand kine so the deeds of the past would not fail to find out the doer" :—

Yathā dhenusahasreshu
Vatso vindati mātaram
Tathā pūrvakṛitaṁ karma
Kartāramanugachchati

XII.181.16.

The operation of the law might, however, be modified by the grace (*'prasāda'*) of the Lord, the Ordainer (*'Iśvara, Dhātṛi'*), combined with the loving faith (*'bhakti'*) of the worshipper. This new doctrine is preached among others, by the *'Bhāgavatas'* or

'Pañcharātras'. They teach *'Bhakti'* in Krishṇa who is identified with Vishṇu and Nārāyaṇa, and their religious and philosophical views are expounded in the *'Bhagavad Gītā'*, the *'Nārāyanīya'*, the *'Viśvopākhyāna'* and several other theistic treatises incorporated into the Great Epic. Rival sects also make their appearance—the most notable being the *'Pāśupatas'* and the *'Sauras'* who lay stress on devotion to Śiva-Paśupati and Surya (also called Mihira) respectively. The growth of these sects threatened to destroy the solidarity of the Aryan community. Separatist tendencies of extreme sectarianism are, however, sought to be checked by the doctrine that Vishṇu, the God of the *'Bhāgavatas'* is identical with Śiva, the deity of the *'Pāśupatas'*:—

Śivāya Vishṇurūpāya Vishṇave Śivarūpine
Dakshayajñavināśāya Hari-Rudrāya vai namaḥ
III.39.76f.

This dualism prepares the doctrine of *'Trimūrti'* which seeks to unite the gods of the most important theistic sects and of orthodox theologians into a trinity and teaches that the Father of the Universe though one, has three aspects. In the form of Brahma he creates, in the form of Purusha (Vishṇu) he preserves and in the form of Rudra (Śiva) he lulls to eternal sleep:—

Sṛijyate Brahmamūrtistu
Rakshate paurushī tanuḥ
Raudribhāvena samayet
Tisro, vasthāḥ prajāpateḥ
III.271.47

The next step is to identify the Sun and other great gods with the *'Trimūrti'* and regard them as but manifestations of the Primeval Spirit, the Lord (*Iśāna*) who is adored by all and to whom all make offerings, the True, the one undecaying *Brahman*, both manifest and unmanifest, the Ever-lasting, who is both non-Existent and Existent-non-Existent, transcending all Existent-non-Existent, creator of the lofty and the low, Ancient, Supreme, Undecaying, who is Vishṇu the Good and the Goodness, who is worthy of all worship, Pure and Sinless, who is Hari, the Lord of the Faculties, the guide of all that moves and does not move:—

Ādyaṁ purushamīśānaṁ puruhūtaṁ purushṭutam
Ṛitamekākṣharaṁ Brahma vyaktāvyaktaṁ sanātanam

Asachcha sadasachchaiva yadviśvaṁ sadasatparaṁ
Parāvarāṇaṁ srashṭāraṁ purāṇaṁ paramavyayam
Maṅgalyaṁ maṅgalaṁ Vishṇuṁ vareṇyamanaghaṁ śuchiṁ
Namaskṛitya Hṛishikeśaṁ charācharaguruṁ Harim

(*I*.1.*22ff*.)

How to win admitance to the reams of this Primeval Spirit and attain immortality? Not by hundreds of sacrifice but by Self-restraint, Renunciation, Vigilance and Good-will towards all beings:—

Damastyāgo'pramādaścha
te trayo Brahmaṇo hayāḥ
Śīlaraśmi samāyuktaḥ
sthito yo mānase rathe
Iyaktvā mṛityubhayaṁ rājan
Brahmalokaṁ sa gachchhati
Abhāyaṁ sarvabhutebhyo
yo dadāti mahīpate
Sa gachchhati paraṁ sthānaṁ
Vishṇo padamanāmayam
Na tat kratusahasreṇa
nopavāsaiścha nityaśaḥ
Abhayasya hi dānena
yat phalaṁ prāpnuyānnaraḥ

(*XI*.7.*23ff*)

Self-restraint, Renunciation and Vigilance—these are the three horses of Brahman. He who rides on the car of his soul, having yoked (these horses) with the help of reins of right behaviour, goes, O king, to the realm of the *Brahman*, shaking off all fear of death. He, who assures to all beings freedom from fear goes to the highest region, the blessed abode of Vishṇu. The fruit that a man reaps by granting protection from harm cannot be obtained by thousands of sacrifles or daily fasts.

These sentiments are echoed by a Greek devotee of Vāsudeva, the, God of gods, *i.e.*, Kṛshṇa, in an epigraphic record of the second century B.C. The new school of saints and seers to whom we owe these and similar ideas, lay stress on '*Ātma-yajña*' (sacrifice of self) in place of the older '*Paśu-yajña*' (sacrifice of animals);

Mrityurāpadyate mohāt
Satyenāpadyate' mritam
So'haṁ satyamahiṁsārthī
Kāmakrodhavahishkritaḥ
Samāśritya sukhaṁ kshemī
Mrityuṁ hāsyāmyamrityuvat
Śāntiyajñarato dānto
Brahmayajñe sthito muniḥ
Vāṅmanaḥkarmayajñaścha
Bhavishyāmyudagāyane
Paśuyajñaiḥ katham hiṁsrair
Mādriśo yaśhṭumarhati
Antāvadbhiruta prājñaḥ
Kshatrayajñaiḥ piśāchavat
Ātmanyevātmanā jāta
Ātmanishṭho' prajaḥ pitaḥ
Ātmayajño bhavishyāmi
Na māṁ tārayati praja.
(*XII.276.30ff.*)

"Death comes from infatuation, and immortality is acquired by Truth. Abstaining from injury, shaking off desire, and anger, resorting to Truth, with a happy and contented mind I shall scoff at death-like an immortal. Engaged in sacrifice of peace, possessed of self-control, devoted also to the sacrifice of *Brahman*, the sacrifices I shall perform are those of speech, mind and deeds, when the Sun enters his Northern course. How can one like me celebrate an animal sacrifice which is full of cruelty? How can one endowed with wisdom, perform like a ghoul a sacrifice of destruction after the manner of *Kshatriyas*,—a sacrifice which brings only transitory rewards? I am born of my own self, O father, and without progeny I shall seek my own spiritual welfare. I shall offer the sacrifice of self, I require no children to be my saviours."

It is interesting to note that it was Ghora Āṅgirasa, the preceptor of Krishṇa Devakiputra in the '*Chhāndogya Upanishad*' (III.17. 6) who first taught '*Purushayajñavidyā*' in place of the old '*Vidhi-yajña*'. This indicates the source of inspiration of the famous poets and sages who sang of the newer morality.

Doubts however, not only about the value of sacrificial rites but about the efficacy of religion and morality and the justice and

benevolence of God Himself are heard now and then. A long-suffering princess complains that a man does not attain prosperity by piety, gentleness, forgiveness, straight forwardness and other virtues and expresses her conviction that "the Great-Grandsire with secret action destroys creatures by creatures, playing with them as a boy with toys. Not like father or mother does the creator behave to his creatures ; like ordinary mortals he acts in anger."—

Evaṁ sa Bhagavān devaḥ
Svaymbhūḥ prapitāmahaḥ
Hinasti bhūtairbhūtānī
Chhadma kṛitvā Yudhishṭhira
Saṁprayojya biyojyāyaṁ
Kāmakārakaraḥ prabhuḥ
Krīḍate Bhagavān bhutair
Bālaḥ krīḍanakairiva
Na mātripitrivad rājan
Dhātā bhūteshu vartate
Roshādiva pravritto'yaṁ
Yathāyamitaro janaḥ
(*III.30.36t.*)

To this the man of religion replies that true piety seeks no reward :—

Dharmañcharāmi suśroṇi na dharmaphalakāraṇāt
(*III.31.*4)

"Do not", he adds, "speak ill of God, who is the Lord of all creatures, learn to know Him, bow to Him ; let not your understandfng be such".

"Never disregard that Supreme Being, O Kṛishṇā, by whose mercy the mortals by pious observances, become immortals" :—

Isvarañchāpi bhūtānāṁ
Dhātāraṁ mā cha vai kshipa
Śikshasvainaṁ namasvainaṁ
Ma te'bhūdbuddhirīdṛiśī
Yasya prasādāt tadbhakto
Martyo gachhatyamartyatām
Uttamāṁ devatāṁ Kṛishṇe
Nāvamaṁsthāḥ kathañchana
(*III.31.41ff.*)

The Lord Himself says in the *Gītā* (IX 29) :—

Samo'haṁ sarvabhūteshu
Na me dveshyo'sti na priyaḥ
Ye bhajanti tu māṁ bhaktyā
Mayi te teshu chāpyaham

"All beings I regard alike; not one is hateful to Me or beloved but who with loving faith worship Me abide in Me, and I also in them".

APPENDIX D

THE ISLAND HOME OF RĀVAṆA

The abode of the famous *Rākshasa* king is the subject of much keen controversy.

In *JRAS* 1915, p. 318 f., Professor Keith contributed a note on the date of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the course of which he observed that "the evidence that Laṅkā (Rāvaṇa's Island home) was Ceylon is weak." Similar views have been expressed by many scholars in India as well as in Europe. A summary of some of these views is given in IHQ, 1928, p. 695.

Those who doubt the identity of Rāvaṇa's Island with Ceylon take it for granted that Laṅkā, the name given to the Island by Vālmīki, was the exclusive designation of one particular territory and that territory, it is argued, could not have been Siṁhala or Ceylon, as the names Laṅkā and Siṁhala find separate mention in several Sanskrit texts. But separate mention in these texts is no sure proof of complete dissociation in all ages. In the *Sabhā-parva* of the *Mahābhārata*,[2] for instance, Vaṅga, Tāmralipti and Suhma are clearly distinguished from one another. The *Daśakumāra Charita*, however, includes Dāmalipta or Tāmralipti within Suhma,[3] while the Jaina Upāṅga, styled the *Prajñāpanā* includes it within Vaṅga.[4] In the records of Fa Hien and Yuan Chwang Gandhāra is distinguished from Takshaśilā, [5] but in several Jātakas Takshaśilā appears as the name of the capital of Gandhāra.[6] The Bṛihat Saṁhitā,[7] which makes separate mention of Laṅkā and Siṁhala likewise distinguishes Māthuraka from Śūrasena, Kuru from Gajāhvaya, Girinagara from Surāshṭra, Koṅkaṇa from Aparāntaka. Takshaśilā-Pushkalāvata from Gandhāra, Madra (XIV, 22) from Madraka (XIV, 27). Kulūta is placed in Western India (XIV, 22) as well as in the North-East (XIV, 29).

1 *Bhāratavarsha*, Paush, 1336, 67; IHQ, 1926, 345 : 1928, 339, 691; 1929, 355; *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, XVIII.

2 Ch. 30 (*Bhīma-digvijaya*).

3 *Suhmeshu Dāmliptāhvayasya nagarasya vāhyodyāna* (*Uchchhāsa* 6).

4 *Tāmalitti Vaṁgāya* (*Indian Antiquary*, 1891, 375).

5 *Legge*, 31-32; *Watters*, I, 198, 240.

6 *E.g.* in the *Nandivisāla Jātaka* (No. 28).

7 XIV, verses 11, 15; 3; 4; 11, 19; 12, 20; 26, 28.

We need not multiply instances. Separate mention in each of these cases does not necessarily mean separate existence as absolutely distinct entities.

There is another fact which should not be lost sight of. The name Laṅkā was not the exclusive designation of one particular island. Sylvain Lèvi [1] refers to "alluvial islands lying within the banks of the Godāvarī river, called *laṅkās*, which are flooded every year." A deed of gift, which comes from the state of Sonpur and is published by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, makes mention of a local chief under the title of *Paśchima-Laṅkādhipati.*[2] The author of *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders* makes mention of a territory called Māvilangai or North Laṅkā lying to the south of Nellore.[3] These Laṅkās were undoubtedly quite distinct from Ceylon. But the Laṅkā *par excellence* could not have been any other territory but Ceylon. This is made clear by the evidence of Buddhist literature. The Buddhist Chroniclers of Ceylon refer to their country as "our island of Laṅkā"[4] which they identify with "the region called Tambapanni." The *Mahābodhivaṁsa*[5] makes clear mention of *Laṅkāsaṅkhātam Tambapaṇṇidīpam.*

In the *Mahāvaṁsa*[6] we have the statement that "'Vijaya, son of King Sihabāhu, is come to Laṅkā." He "landed in Laṅkā, in the region called Tambapaṇṇi." "The King Sihabāhu, since he had slain the lion (was called) Sīhala and, by reason of the ties between him and them, all those (followers of Vijaya) were also (called) Sīhala (Siṁhala)."

Was Siṁhala (Ceylon), the Laṅkā of Vijaya, also the Laṅkā of Rāvaṇa? In this connection it is interesting to note that the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (Ch. 70)[7] refers to a river called "Rāvaṇagaṅgā" named apparently after the King of Laṅkā, which is described as

Siṁhalī-chārunitambabimba-vikshobhitāgādha mahāhradā

This passage certainly establishes a connection between Rāvaṇa, lord of Laṅkā, and Siṁhala. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* [8] the country (*deśa*)

1 *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India* (Trans. by Bagchi), 102.
2 *Ep. Ind.*, XII, 237,
3 P. 37.
4 The *Mahāvaṁsa* (Geiger's translation), pp. 54, 61, 62.
5 Ed. by S. Arthur Strong, p. 113.
6 Geiger's Translation, pp. 54, 55, 58.
7 Verse 3.
8 *Rām.*, IV, 41, 14f.

of Rāvaṇa the lord of *Rākshasas* is thus described (the *Kiskkindhyā Kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, 41. 14-25):—

"You will see the Kāverī, abounding in sporting bands of *Apsarases*. On the summit of the Malaya mountain, endowed with exceeding splendour, you will behold Agastya, foremost of saints, like unto the Sun. The high-souled one being pleased, you will be permitted to cross the Tāmraparṇî, a great river infested by crocodiles. Decked with covered islets, picturesque with sandalwoods, the river, like a youthful lass, embraces her lover, the sea. Marching onward, Monkeys! you will next behold the *Kapāṭa* of the Pāṇḍyas, made of gold and adorned with pearls and gems. Then having reached the sea you will consider the possibility or otherwise of crossing it. There in the Ocean Agastya has placed the most excellent mountain—the glorious Mahendra, charming with its picturesque ridges, golden, majestic, plunged in the bosom of the great deep. To this lovely mountain, decked with various trees and blossoming creepers, hallowed by the foremost of gods, sages, *Yakshas* and *Apsarases* and thronged with multitudes of *siddhas* and *chāraṇas*, comes, at *parvas*, the thousand-eyed (Indra). On its other side is a luminous island stretching over a hundred *Yojanas*, inaccessible to men. Explore it all round and make a thorough search for Sitā, particularly in this place. That is the country of the wicked Rāvaṇa—the abode of the lord of Rākshasas, like unto the thousand-eyed (Indra) in lustre." Rāvaṇa's Island is in this passage placed beyond the Kāverî, the Malaya Mountain, the Tāmraparṇî, the Pāṇḍya country (Madura and Tinnevelly Districts), and the Sea. To reach the shore opposite Laṅkā Rāma had to cross the Sahya, Malaya and Mahendra Mountains, *i.e.*, the Ghats and the Travancore Hills.[1] Any one who reads the splendid description of the surging mass of water[2] separating Rāma's camp on the mainland from Rāvaṇa's Island home need not be told that it can hardly be identified (as is done by some Indian writers) with some obscure sheet of water near the Amarakaṇṭaka range. Trikūṭa, the name of the mountain on the top of which stood the proud city of the Rākshasa king, cannot be exclusively appropriated to a particular region of Central India, as the name is found in other parts of the Indian sub-Continent.[3]

[1] *Rām.*, VI, 4, 92f.; *cf. Mahābhārata*, III, 281, 44f.

[2] *Hasantamiva phenaughair nṛityantamiva chormibhiḥ*
Chandrodaye samuddhūtaṃ pratichandrasamākulam

[3] *Raghuvaṁśam*, IV. 58-59; Carmichael Smyth, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, 252.

Some scholars object to the identification of Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā with Ceylon on the ground that the dimensions of Laṅkā given in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[1] far exceed those of Ceylon. It is forgotten that poets are not scientific geographers and even the classical writers give exaggerated accounts of the size of 'Taprobane' or Ceylon,[2]

chaṇḍānila mahāgrāhaiḥ kīrṇaṁ timitimiṅgilaiḥ
dīpta bhogairivākīrṇaṁ bhujaṅgair Varuṇālayam

* * *

sāgarañchāmbara prakhyam ambaraṁ sāgaropamam
sāgarañchāmbarañcheti nirviśeshamadṛiśyata

* * *

anyonyairāhatāḥ saktāḥ sasvanubhīmaniḥsvanāḥ
ūrmayaḥ sindhu-rājasya mahābherya ivāhave

* * *

tato vismayamāpannā harayo dadṛiśuḥ sthitāḥ
bhrāntormijāla sannādaṁ pralolamiva sagaram

Rāmāyaṇa, VI, 4. 110-121,

[1] IV. 41. 23f., etc.

[2] *Cf*. McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy* (Ed. by S. Majumdar Sāstrī), p. 255.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

P. 13, line 12—After 'Krivis' add the name of the 'Sṛiñjayas' who constituted one section of the Pañchāla people [the other four being named 'Mudgala,' 'Bṛihadishu,' 'Yavînara,' and 'Kṛimilâśva, in the *Brahma Purāṇa* (XIII. 94-95). For the evidence of the Vedic texts on this point, see *Political History of Ancient India*, sixth edition, 71].

P. 21, line 12—For *bhavishyait* read *bhavishyati*
P. 25, ,, 2— ,, *vamse* ,, *vaṁse*
P. 36, ,, 14— ,, owrks ,, works
P. 37, ,, 7— ,, *vinirnāṇa* ,, *vinirmāṇa*
P. 44, ,, 15— ,, *śaṁgraha* ,, *samgraha*
P. 45, ,, 7— ,, Archilles ,, Achilles
P. 50, ,, 2— ,, ritul ,, ritual
P. ,, ,, 26— ,, *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* ,, *Kāvyamimāṁsā*
P. ,, ,, 32— ,, *Uṭtarapatha* ,, *Uttarapatha*
P. 51, ,, 24— ,, Harishena ,, Harisheṇa
P. 52, ,, 18— ,, *Mahātmya* ,, *Māhātmya*
P. 62, ,, 5— ,, Prāgyotisha ,, Prāgjyotisha
P. 71, ,, 27— ,, Walters ,, Watters
P. 72, ,, 12— ,, Nīlavarasha ,, Nīlavarsha
P. 80, ,, 22— ,, 'chatuḥ-saṁsthāna-saṁsthitam,' the *Brahma Purāṇa* reads 'nava-saṁsthāna-saṁsthitam' (XXVII. 65). The former reading is to be preferred.
P. 82, line 28— ,, Kirrhadia Ptolemy read Kirrhadia of Ptolemy
P. 84, line 15—The *Vāmana Purāṇa* twice (83.14 ; 90.42) mentions a Kaśeru-deśa in connection with Mount Pāriyātra.

P. 85, line 30—For 8mith read Smith
P. 91, ,, 4— ,, actuālly ,, actually
P. 91, line 20—With the quadrangular mountains may be compared the *Kesara-parvatas* (*Brahma Purāṇa*, XVIII. 52):—"Merośchaturdiśam ye tu proktāḥ Kesara-parvatāḥ." But the names of the Kesara-parvatas are not entirely identical with those of the "Quadrangular mountains" of Alberuni.
P. 101, line 1—Dikshitar (*Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, 13) distinguishes "Dakṣiṇa Madura" from the modern city of Madura.
P. 110, line 30—For *Ind. And.* read *Ind. Ant.*
P. 120—

(1) Vaidyuta.—According to N. Dey "it is the Gurla range on the south of Lake Mānasa-Sarovara; the Saraju (Sarayu) is said to rise from this mountain" (*Brahmāṇḍa* P., Ch. LI).

(2) Kūṭa-Śaila.—It may perhaps be connected with the Kuṭaka country which the *Bhāgavata Purrāṇa* (V. 6. 9) associates with Konka(ṇa) and Venkaṭa in the Deccan. The *Devî-Bhāgavatā* (VIII.11) mentions Kūṭaka along with Ṛishabha, Kolla and Sahya, while the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (II.7.68) associates "Kuṭalâchala" with the Kāverî.

(3) Añjana—N. Dey identifies it with the Suleiman Range on the authority of the *Varāha* Purāṇa, ch. 80. But it is difficult to find any evidence in support of this statement. The *Brahma Purāṇa* associates Añjana with the Gautamî, *i.e.*, the Godāvarî (Gautamyā dakshiṇe taṭe, girir Brahma-gireḥ pārśve Añjana nāma Nārada, Ch. 84). The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (LVIII.11) places it in the east along with

Jambvākhyo Mānavāchalaḥ
Śurpa-Karṇo Vyāghramukhaḥ
Kharmakaḥ Karvaṭāśanaḥ

The *Mahābhārata* apparently places a 'Karvaṭa' in Bengal.

(4) Sūryādri and Kumudādri are placed in the Deccan. The former must, therefore, be carefully, distinguished from the Himalayan peak called 'Saurya' (p. 103 *ante*).

(5) Maṅgala-prastha.—The *Devî-Bhāgavata* (VIII.11.8) mentions it along with Malaya and other mountains of Southern India.

(6) Vāridhāra.—The *Devî-Bhāgavata* (VIII.11.9) associates it with the Vindhyas :—

Vāridhāraścha Vindhyaścha Śuktimān Ṛikshaparvataḥ.

(7) Droṇa.—N. Dey identifies it with the Doonagiri mountain in Kumāun and refers to the *Devī Purāṇa*, Ch.39. But verse 138 of that chapter connects Droṇa-parvata with Krauñcha-Dvîpa. The *Devī-Bhāgavata* (VIII.11.10) associates it with the Pāriyātra and Chitrakūṭa.

(8) Gokāmukha may be the same as Kokāmukha in the Himalayan region (Koketi prathitā loke Śiśirādri samāśritā, *Brahma* P., Ch. 219).

P. 125,	line	16—For	Brāhmavarta	read	Brahmāvarta
P. 175,	,,	5— ,,	ccording	,,	according
P. ,,	,,	6— ,,	*chaturavarṇa*	,,	*chaturvarṇa*
P. 212,	,,	8— ,,	Aparamta	,,	Aparaṁta
P. 235,	,,	21— ,,	than	,,	then
P. 259,	,,	11— ,,	সর্ব্বনাথ	,,	শর্ব্বনাথ

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INDEX

C

D

E

F

GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX

L

GENERAL INDEX

A

B

C

D

K

L

M

R

S

List of Periodicals, Miscellanies and Commemoration Volumes in which the essays now collected, appeared for the first time

PART I

1—The Antiquity of the Ṛig Veda
Calcutta Review 1942, Oct. 67f

2—The Mahābhārata and the Besnagar Inscription of Heliodoros
J.A.S.B., 1922, No: 19, p. 269

3—Inter-relation of the Two Epics of Ancient India
Calcutta Review, 1922, March, 499f

4—A Lost Upākhyāna of the Mahābhārata
Calcutta Review, 1934, p. 212

PART II

5—The Study of the Ancient Indian Geography
Indian Historical Quarterly, 1928, p. 228

6—Geographical Literature in Sanskrit
Journal of the U. P. His. Soc. Vol. XVII, p. 231.

7—Aryan Occupation of India
Calcutta Review, 1926, Oct. 123f

8—India in Purāṇic Cosmography
Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XIX, 1929

9—The Mountain System of the Purāṇas
Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XIX, 1929

10—The Sarasvati
Science and Culture, June, 1943, Vol. III., No. 12. p. 468

PART III

11—Buddhism in Western India
Buddhistic Studies (Ed. By B. C. Law), p. 636

12—A Note on the Vastrāpatha-Māhātmya of the Skanda Purāṇa
Indian Hist. Quarterly, March., 1929, p. 129

13—Epigraphic Notes
Indian Antiquary, Vol. XLIX., 1920, p. 174-5

14—The Lakshmaṇa Sena Era
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume, Vol. III., Orientalia, Part. II., 1921, 1925

15—Some Aspects of the Ancient Indian Social Organisation
Prabuddha Bharata, March, 1944, No. 1

16—The Tapestry of Ancient Indian History
Indian Culture, Vol. VIII., No. 1

17—Prototypes (?) of Siva in Western India
D. R. Bhandarkar Volume, p. 301

18—Kokāmukhasvāmin
B. C. Law Volume Part. I., p.88

19—Observations on the date of the Silappadikaram
Gopalakrishnamacharya Book of Commemoration

20—Seṇiya Bimbisāra
Indian Hist. Quarterly, 1925, p. 89

21—The Aśoka Chakra—its Symbolism
Indian Culture, Vol. XV., 1948-9, p. 179

22—Observations on Certain Post-Mauryan Dynasties
Indian Culture, Vol. VI., 1940, p. 409

23—The Kārddamaka Kings
Indian Hist. Quarterly, 19-3, p. 37

24—The Stone-Boat of Dharmapāla
Bhārata-Kaumadi, Part. II, p. 603

25—The Pūrvarājar of the Veḷvikkuḍi Grant
Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume, p. 197

26—On the Emperor Mahipāla of the Pratihāra Dynasty
Indian Culture, Vol. VII. No: 2. p. 199

27—The Chain of Justice
Indian Culture, Vol. VII. No: I

PART IV

28—মহাভারত ও বুদ্ধচরিত
Navya Bhārata, ৪১ বর্ষ, পৌষ, ১৩৩০, ৪৮৮-৯০ পৃঃ।

29— মহাভারত ও মধ্যমব্যায়োগ
Vichitra, অগ্রহায়ণ, ১৩৩৭, ৭৮৩-৮৬ পৃঃ।

30— বঙ্গ কোন্ দেশ ?
Mānasī O Marmavāṇī, শ্রাবণ, ১৩৩৬, ৫৬৬-৯পৃঃ।

31—প্রাচীন ভারতের ধর্ম্ম সম্বন্ধে দু একটি কথা

32—Aspects of Hindu Civic Life
The Calcutta Municipal Gazette, Nov. 24, 1934

33—The Mahābhārata and its Culture
Forward Puja Special, 1935 (?)

34—The Island Home of Rāvaṇa
Calcutta Review, Dec., 1933, p. 311

Opinions and Reviews

I. Political History of Ancient India

From the Accession of Parikshit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty

PROFESSOR A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, EDINBURGH.—I have to express my appreciation of the courtesy of the University of Calcutta in forwarding to me at the request of the author a copy of Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri's Political History of Ancient India, which I observe, has reached a second edition.

I have now read through the work and find it to contain much that is valuable. The author has arrived at clearly cut opinions on many of the chief difficulties in the history of early India; he has formulated them effectively, and as a result, even when they do not commend themselves as final solutions, they will serve to promote the discussion and to facilitate further fruitful research. He observes a due sense of proportion and is well read in the literature. The work accordingly may justly be deemed a most valuable contribution to the subject-matter of which it treats.

PROFESSOR WILH GEIGER, MUNCHEN-NEUBIBERG, GERMANY.—Tell my best thanks, please, to Mr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri for kindly presenting me with his splendid work on Political History of Ancient India from the time of Pariksit down to the extinction of the Gupta dynasty, and excuse my delay in writing to you. But I was absent from home, and it is only a short time ago that I returned from our hills where I have spent some holiday weeks. I highly appreciate Mr. Ray Chaudhuri's work as a most happy combination of sound scientific method and enormous knowledge of both Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical literature. The work is written in lucid style in spite of its intricate subject and affords a mass of valuable evidence, throwing much light on the whole period of Indian History dealt within it. I see with special pleasure and satisfaction that we now are enabled by the author's penetrating researches to start in Indian chronology from the 9th instead of the 6th or 5th century B.C.

K. P. JAYASWAL, PATNA.—I am very thankful to you for your valuable book. I am glad that you devote your attention to Hindu geography as well.

PROFESSOR JACKSON, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK.—I can see the scholarly research which you have put into the volume, and am glad to have such a work for future reference in my historical studies.

PROFESSOR LOUIS DE LA VALLE'E POUSSION BRUSSELS, BELGIUM.—I believe that the book is well designed and has the twofold merit of collecting a vast amount (and in some chapters, an exhaustive one) of references, and of giving a clear and reasonable *exposé* of the main line of this history. I agree with the author on several controverted points of chronology.

MRS. C. A F. RHYS DAVIDS (BSOSL, Vol. IV, pp. 857 ff).—Dr. Chaudhuri has made debtors of us all.

II. Political History of India

From the Accession of Parikshit to the Coronation of Bimbisara

Reprint from the Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. IX, Royal 8vo, 96 pp. :—

PROFESSOR E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.—"It is a fine augury for Indian scholarship when native scholars of the first rank take seriously in hand the great problem of untangling the web of Indian history. To this work your book is a valuable contribution."

PROFESSOR H. JACOBI, BONN.—"Very suggestive and contains some important details."

PROFESSOR F. OTTO SCHRADER.—"I have read the book with increasing interest and do not hesitate to say that it contains a great many details which will be found useful by later historians. The portion I enjoyed most is that on the sixteen Mahājanapadas."

PROFESSOR A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.—"Full of useful information."

PROFESSOR L. D. BARNETT, BRITISH MUSEUM —"Present the facts very well. It will be very useful to students."

PROFESSOR E. J. RAPSON, CAMBRIDGE.—"I write to thank you for your kindness in sending me copies of your interesting papers."

S. M. EDWARDES (Indian Antiquary, January, 1924).—One cannot wholly reject as imaginary the traditional figures mentioned in ancient history, particularly when their existence, circumstances and

achievements are so carefully co-ordinated and illustrated by quotation as they are in this modest, but withal interesting, volume.

W. Charles de Silva, Colombo.—"I have the greatest pleasure to express my high appreciation of your very valuable and learned article."

III. The Early History of the Vaishnava Sect

Demy 8vo, 146 pp. Price Rs. 2-13

Published by the Calcutta University

Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University, America.—"Your book has given me great satisfaction ....I am particularly pleased to see an incisive study of this kind in the realm of religious history.........Believe me, in the hope of further contributions of this character from your able pen........."

Professor A. Berriedale Keith, Edinburgh University.—"While I do not concur in your view as to the original character of Kṛṣṇa, I recognise the care with which you have investigated the issue, and value highly the elaborate collation of the evidence which your work contains, and which will render it of much service to all students of this, doubtless insoluble, problem. The stress laid on the epigraphic evidence and the full use made of it is of special value, while in many details your opinions are of interest and value, as in the case of the date of Pāṇini........."

Sir George Grierson —"Very interesting and informing......... The book is full of matter which is of great importance for the history of religion in India and will form a valued addition to my collection of books on the subject........."

F. E. Pargiter, Oxford.—"I agree with you in discarding various theories, but I don't think that Kṛṣṇa Devakiputra is the famous Kṛṣṇa, and it seems to me your exposition can stand just as well without the identification as with it. Your book will help to elucidate the whole matter, but are you sure that the cult does not owe something to Christianity?"

Professor F. Otto Schrader, Kiel, Germany.—"I perfectly agree with your opinion that the Chāndogya passage on Kṛṣṇa Devakiputra and his teaching is to be considered as the first historical

record of Bhagavatism. There were, of course, many Kṛṣṇas, but to conjecture that more than one was also a Devakiputra, is to my mind an unscientific boldness which is the less justifiable as the teachings mentioned in that passage, as you show, perfectly agree with those, *e.g.*, of the Bhagavad-gitā and the Ṛk quoted with the famous तद्विष्णो परमं पदं ।........."

PROFESSOR GARBE, TUBINGEN, GERMANY.—"I have read your book with the greatest interest and perfectly agree with you in the main points, as to the personality of Kṛṣṇa and the development of Bhāgavatism.........You have brought together much important material and elucidated the dark early history of Bhāgavatism as far as possible."

THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT, MAY 12, 1921.—"The lectures of Mr. Hemchandra Ray Chaudhuri on the early history of the Vaishṇava Sect read almost as would a Bampton lecture on the "Historical Christ" to a Christian audience. They are an attempt to disentangle the authentic figure of Krishna from the mass of Puranic legend and gross tradition, from the wild conjectures and mistaken, if reasoned, theories which surround his name. The worship of Krishna is not a superstitious idolatry; it is the expression of the Bhakti, the devotional faith of an intellectual people, and many missionaries, ill-equipped for dealing with a dimly understood creed would do well to study this little volume........."

JOURNAL ASIATIQUE, JANUARY-MARCH, 1923, PARIS.—"Dans le domaine historique, signalons un travail plein de merite de M. Hemchandra Ray Chaudhuri: *Materials for the study of the Early History of the Vaishnava Sect.*" (Dr. Jules Bloch of Paris.).

DR. JULES BLOCH, PARIS.—"My Guru, Sylvain Lévi, who has come back from his travels, told me also of his esteem for that book."

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN.—"The scope of this small book is rightly expressed in its title. The author who is a Lecturer in History in the Calcutta University, has collected and discussed statements, references, and allusions from the early literature to throw light on the position and life of Kṛṣṇa and the growth of Bhāgavatism. He deals with the various theories that have been put forward, and with good reasons discredits the views that Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva was a solar deity or a tribal god or a vegetation deity. He is right in treating Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva as one person, the

Vṛṣṇi chief, but he unnecessarily identifies him with Kṛṣṇa Devakī-putra, the scholar mentioned in the Chāndogya Upanishad......" (F. E. Pargiter).

THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE, JUNE 19, 1921 —"In this small book of a hundred and seventeen pages, Mr. Hemchandra Ray Chaudhuri of the Calcutta University has collected much valuable material from which he has succeeded in tracing the origin and growth of the Vaishnava creed. The Historicity of Srikrishna—or as the author calls him, Krishna Vāsudeva—is also handled with remarkable clearness........."

IV. The Antiquity of the Rig Veda

PROFESSOR SCHRADER, KIEL, GERMANY.—This is a sober and useful little piece of research work with which, on the whole, I fully agree. If we follow Jacobi and Tilak, we create a gap (which we cannot bridge over) between the Mantras and the Brāhmaṇas, for the latter are certainly not far removed from early Buddhism. On the other hand, if Hertel were right, the Rig Veda would immediately precede Buddhism, and there would be no room at all for Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads.

V. The Mahabharata and the Besnagar Inscription of Heliodoros

JASB, 1922, No. 10.

PROFESSOR H. JACOBI.—"The verification of the Bhāgavata credo in the Besnagar inscription is a find on which you may be congratulated."

PROFESSOR E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.—"It is certainly a remarkable resemblance which you have established and I should be inclined to agree with your conclusion."

PROFESSOR JARL CHARPENTIER.—"The identification of some words in this very important document with a passage in the Mahābhārata seems to be a most happy find."

VI. Interrelation of the Two Epics of Ancient India

PROFESSOR SCHRADER, KIEL, GERMANY.—Very many thanks for your important paper on the inter-relation of the two epics. The opinion held by Macdonell, Winternitz, and others, *viz.*, that the heroes of the Mahābhārata are unknown to the Rāmāyaṇa, seems, indeed, to be untenable.........Again, I find it difficult, as you do, to distinguish between a Pāṇḍava story and a Kuru-Bhārata Epic.

DR. L. D. BARNETT, LONDON.—I think you have made out a good case.

VII. The Aryan Occupation of India,

Calcutta Review, 1926, Oct.

India in Purāṇic Cosmography.
The Mountain System of the Puranas. } Journal of the Department of Letters, XIX.

A Note on the Vastrāpatha Māhātmya of the Skanda-purāṇa—Indian Historical Quarterly, March, 1929.

PROF. RAPSON.—I have read them with much interest and shall carefully preserve them for future reference.

DR. BARNETT.—They are very interesting and critically sound.

DR. KEITH.—They are all very interesting, and I am glad to note the very useful information elicited as to Bhoja.

VIII. The Lakshmana Sena Era

Reprint from Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, Vol. III Orientalia, Part 2, Calcutta.—Published by the Calcutta University and printed at the Baptist Mission Press, 1921 and 1925.

PROFESSOR DR. STEN KONOW, KRISTIANIA, NORWAY.—"Many thanks for the reprints which you have been good enough to send me. I have read them with great pleasure. They are written in a thoroughly scholarlike way, and more especially it seems to me that your paper about the Lakṣmaṇa Sena era deserves very careful attention."

दिनाँक Date	उधारकर्त्ता की संख्या Borrower's No.	दिनांक Date	उधारकर्त्ता की संख्या Borrower's No.